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# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

# MASSACHUSETTS

# HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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VOL. II.

OF THE SECOND SERIES.

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CHARLES C. LITTLE AND JAMES BROWN.

MDCCCXLVI.

***CORRECTIONS** in the lists of members and officers of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1 January, 1813. Published in the first volume, new series, page 4, &c.*

*August,* 1814.

Res. member deceased. Rev. John Elliot, D. D. Boston, 14 Feb. 1813.
Res. members elected. James Savage, Esquire, Boston, 28 Jan. 1813.
" " " Dr. Ephraim Eliot, Boston, 24 Aug. 1813.
Corr. members elected. Hon. Elias Boudinot, LL. D. Burlington, N. J. Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D. D. Pres. Union Coll. Schenectady, N. Y. and his Ex. John Cotton Smith, Sharon, Conn. 29 April, 1813. John Pintard, Esquire, N. York, 28 October, 1813. Hon. Dewitt Clinton, N. York, 28 April, 1814.

OFFICERS.

*Corr. Secretary.* Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D. 1813.
*Librarian.* James Savage, Esquire, 1814.
*Comm. for pub. 2d vol. new series.* Rev. Abiel Holmes and Thaddeus M. Harris, S. T. D D. Hon. Josiah Quincy, and Rev. Joseph M'Kean.

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# COLLECTIONS, &c.

## REPORT RESPECTING THE INDIANS, INHABITING THE WESTERN PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

*Communicated by Mr.* JOHN F. SCHERMERHORN *to the Secretary of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America.*

[The Society for propagating the Gospel, taking into consideration that the Indian tribes in New England are almost extinct, and that at no distant period it may be expedient to extend some portion of the income of the fund, appropriated to Indians, to tribes in the remote parts of North America, commissioned Messrs. Samuel J. Mills and John F. Schermerhorn, in 1812, to procure exact information of the state of such remote tribes, with particular reference to future missions, whenever they may be judged practicable and expedient. The following Report was communicated to the Society at their annual meeting, 26 May, 1814, and referred to their Select Committee, who authorized the publication of it in the Historical Collections. It is gratefully received, and readily inserted, as an important document in the aboriginal history of our country. EDIT.]

REV. SIR,

BY your communication of May 28, 1812, it appears, that Samuel J. Mills and myself were appointed by your Society, to obtain some information concerning those tribes of Indians, which reside west of the Alleghany mountains and the Mississippi river; and to endeavour particularly to obtain answers to the following inquiries:

1. What is the name of the tribe? its origin and history?

2. What its local situation, and the extent of the territory which it occupies?

3. What its numbers and language? How extensively is its language understood?

4. Whether it is independent? or,

5. Whether in any degree dependent on the government of the United States, or any particular state? or connected with or subject to any other tribe or tribes of Indians?

6. What grants of money, goods, or other aids it receives, either from the national or any state government?

7. Whether the gospel has ever been propagated among them? If so, when? By whom? and with what success?

8. Is there any church in the nation? If so,

9. Of what religious denomination? When, and by whom established, and what its present numbers and state?

10. Is there any school in the nation? If so, when and by whom established, and what is its character and state?

11. Are they in peculiar need of religious instruction, or of schools?

12. Are they favourably disposed to receive either? and in what way can they best be supplied?

Much confusion has been introduced on part of the subject of the first inquiry, and many erroneous impressions left, from causes which, in themselves, are trifling. I mean in giving names to the different tribes.

La Hontan, Du Pratt and Charlevoix, Carver, Loskeil and others, describe many of the same tribes, concerning which they write, by different names. It was formerly a very common practice with the traders to give fictitious names to the different tribes, in order that they might not be suspected of any evil views and intentions by the Indians, were they to converse in their presence concerning their tribes. Thus it has sometimes happened, that writers have been deceived, taking the proper name of the tribe, and the fictitious name of the trader, to designate different tribes, and have accordingly described them as such. These things would lead us to suppose, that the former and present number of Indian tribes were much greater than they are in reality. In describing the tribes, I will designate them by the names by which they are known and described by the agents of the general government. The origin and history of the different tribes, except those things which relate to affairs since we have

taken possession of the country, are involved in uncertain tradition and fable.

The tribes are all independent of each other, though in general they are in alliance, and occasionally meet to concert measures for their general good; as was the case in October, 1812, when there was a general council of Creeks, Chactaws, Cherokees and Chickesaws. They are, however, not independent of the United States; although we have guaranteed to them their territorial claims, still they are not at liberty to dispose of their lands, but to the United States. In short, they are considered minors; we, as their guardians.

I have not been able to procure all the information that is desirable, concerning many of the Indian tribes. I expected to have been able to present you with much important information concerning the tribes which dwell and wander in Ohio, and the Indiana and Illinoi territories. For this purpose, I wrote to Capt. Hendrick, a Stockbridge Indian of intelligence and hopeful piety, who has for some time resided among the Delawares on the White River, (I. T.) Expecting, on my return, Capt. Hendrick's particular information of these tribes, I was less particular in my inquiries concerning them, while in Ohio and Indiana territory, than I otherwise should have been. I shall, however, lay before you such information as I possess.*

## Wyandots.

The Wyandots are a part of the Huron nation, which reside in the British dominions, on Lake Huron. Their language bears an affinity to that of the Six Nations, many of whom, particularly the Senecas, reside with them. With this tribe reside also many of the Delawares, Munsees, and Shawnees. The country they claim is in the north-west part of the Ohio, and their principal place of residence on the upper and lower Sandusky. Their num-

* Before the arrival of Mr. Schermerhorn, with the papers forming this Report, Mr. Mills returned from the mission, and, in a letter to the Secretary, observed: "We could not ascertain satisfactorily, the situation of any tribe north of the Ohio, on account of the disturbances occasioned by the war. The Indians in this portion of our western country, are generally engaged in the war against the States; and before the termination of it may, at least the greater part of them, go west of the Mississippi river." Edit.

ber of warriors was estimated by Benjamin Hawkins, at the treaty of Granville in 1795, at 300. The probable number of souls is about 1000.

The synod of Pittsburgh have had a mission among this nation for some years, and have met with considerable success. There have been several hopeful converts to christianity, and many of the young children have been instructed in reading and writing, in which they made good proficiency. The storm of war drove them from their peaceable habitation, and they have sought refuge among the white inhabitants. They arrived at Zanestown, near Urbana, in November, 1812. They sided with us in the war. The Moravians have also had a mission among this nation. What is its present state, I cannot say. The synod of Pittsburgh feel encouraged to proceed in their mission, but are in want of funds; any assistance from any society would be gratefully accepted.

The United States have had several treaties with this nation, by which it was stipulated, in 1795, that the United States should pay to them $1000 in merchandise, as a perpetual annuity. In 1806 it was further agreed to pay them, as a perpetual annuity, $1000 in cash. In 1808, the United States gave them a gratuity of $1666$\frac{2}{3}$ in merchandise, and stipulated to pay the further sum of $400, as a perpetual annuity. This tribe receives annually from the United States $1000 in merchandise, and $1400 in cash.

## Shawnoes.

This tribe originally, from the best accounts I can obtain, had its residence east of the Alleghany mountains in Georgia, on Savannah river. Afterwards, part of them removed to Lancaster county, Pennsylvania and some settled in the Creek nation, and are now incorporated with them and speak the Sooanogee language. This tribe has been at war with almost all the Indians. The Six Nations and Cherokees have been their most powerful foes, by whom they have been driven across the Ohio. Since they have been north of the Ohio, they have had several places of residence on the Sciota, the Wabash, and at present, those that remain east of the Mississippi,

reside near and on the Auglaize river, and on the Wabash, about Tippacanoe, (Indiana Ter.) Half of this tribe, at least, reside on the St. Francis river, (Louisiana.)

This tribe has always been reputed the most brave and skilful warriors among the Indians. The prophet, who enticed the Indians to take up the hatchet in this war against us, and his brother Tecumseh, are said to be of this tribe; though others affirm, that they are Algonquines. The language of this tribe is said to bear an affinity to the Delaware. The territorial limits between the Shawnoes, Wyandots, Delawares, Miamis, Eel river, Weas, Putawatamies, Ottoways, Pinkeshaws and Kickapoos, are, in fact, not settled among themselves, and cannot therefore be accurately defined. It is for this reason, probably, that the United States, in their purchases of lands in the Ohio and Indiana territory, have held mutual treaties with those Indians, in order to gain their general consent to the sale, and so prevent future difficulties. Strictly speaking, the Delawares and Shawnoes have no right to the lands in this part of the country. They have been permitted to dwell here by the Miamis and Wyandots, who are the real owners of the soil. This nation has been greatly reduced. Their present numbers are, perhaps 500 warriors, and 1600 souls. Half of them reside in Louisiana. By the treaty of Granville in 1795, the United States settled on them a perpetual annuity of $1000 in merchandise.

### Putawatamies.

Of this nation I can say but little. They reside on the river St. Joseph, near fort St. Joseph, about the lower parts of lake Michigan. Their language is said to bear an affinity to the Chippeway, and Barton found some resemblance between them and the Indians of Darien. Their number of warriors, at the treaty of Granville, was estimated at 350; the probable number of souls 1200. They have received from the United States, since 1795, $1000 in merchandise, which is a perpetual annuity. From 1806, they receive $500 for 10 years annually. From 1808, a perpetual annuity of $400, and also at this time, a gratuity of $1666, 33. From 1810, a perpetual

annuity of $500 more. So that they receive from the United States a perpetual annuity of $1000 in merchandise, and $900 in cash, besides the limited annuity and gratuities.

### Delawares.

These reside on White river, a branch of the Wabash, in Indiana territory. They are the remnant of the old Delaware confederacy, which consisted of five tribes: the Chikohocki, Wanami, Munsey, Wabinga and Mahiccon, or Mohegan. They formerly resided on the sea coast from Delaware bay to Connecticut river. Some few families of the Mohegan still reside in Connecticut: some in New-Stockbridge, (N. Y.) but the body of the nation in Indiana territory, where the Wyandots, as early as 1751, and the Miamis since, have given them a tract of land to live on, but will not acknowledge that the Delawares have a right to sell it. The Delawares have, for several years, requested the Mohegans of New-Stockbridge, to come and settle with them; and in that case would consent to receive a missionary among them. Many of the Stockbridge Indians have been to view the country; some are there now, and in all probability, ere long all will remove there. This would prove a great blessing to the Delawares, for their brethren, the Stockbridge Indians, have made great progress in agriculture and civilization; besides having a church formed among them, and at least thirty professors of religion.

The language of the Delawares must be considered as an original language; at least, it bears no affinity to the Iroquois or Mohawk, nor to the Algonquine or Chippeway language.—See a very excellent dissertation on the Mohegan language, a branch of the Delaware nation, by Jonathan Edwards, D. D. Dr. Barton, however, is of opinion, that there is an affinity between the Delaware and Chippeway languages. The number of warriors in the Indiana territory has been estimated at 300 in 1795; the probable number of souls, 1000. Some of this nation have settled west of the Mississippi, on the St. Francis. The United States, in 1795, engaged to give them a perpetual annuity of $1000 in merchandise; from 1805,

$ 600 annually for 15 years, and a gratuity at this time of $ 1200. In 1810, they further stipulated to pay them in cash $ 500, as a perpetual annuity. So that they are to receive yearly forever $ 1000 in merchandise, and $ 500 in cash.

### Miamies. Weas. Eel River.

These were originally one nation. They have the same language and the same territory in common. Charlevoix observes, that the Miamies and Illinoi Indians are of the same stock. From the earliest accounts we have, they have resided on the Miamie rivers and on the Wabash. La Hontan remarks, that their language bears an affinity to the Algonquine ; Dr. Barton says, to the Delaware ; Charlevoix, to the Illonese. Which of these, if any, is correct, I am not able to say. The society of Friends, at Baltimore, have been engaged for some time past to introduce agriculture among them. They have in a measure succeeded, and many of them now raise considerable quantities of corn. The agent for Indian affairs in that part of the country spoke very flatteringly before this war, of the prospect of the Indians turning their attention to agriculture and civilization, and adopting the manner of life among the whites.

The number of warriors among these tribes does not exceed 500 ; the probable number of souls, 2000. The population of the Miamies is as great as both the others.

The Miamies receive from the United States since 1795, $1000 in merchandise, as a perpetual annuity. By the treaty of 1806, they received a gratuity of $400, and a perpetual annuity of $600 in cash ; by that of 1810, a gratuity of $1500, and a perpetual annuity of $700 more. So that their perpetual annuity is $1000 in merchandise, and $1300 in cash.

*The Weas* receive, since the treaty of Granville in 1795, $500 in merchandise, as a perpetual annuity ; by the treaty of 1806, $250 in cash, as a perpetual annuity ; and by that of 1810, a gratuity of $1500, and a perpetual annuity of $400 in cash.

*Eel River*, it was stipulated in 1795, should receive $500 in merchandise, as a perpetual annuity ; in 1806,

$250 in cash, a perpetual annuity, and in 1810, $350 perpetual. Their perpetual annuity is $500 in merchandise, and $600 in cash.

### Kickapoos

Reside towards the head of Illinoi river, and about lake Michigan. This tribe is supposed to be a part of the Shawnoese tribe. Their language, La Hontan says, is Algonquine. Their number of warriors, as estimated at the treaty of Granville, was 300 ; the probable number of souls, 1000. They receive from the United States, by the treaty of 1795, $500 in merchandise, as a perpetual annuity. By that of 1810, there was settled on them a perpetual annuity of $500 in cash, accompanied with a gratuity of $1500. Their perpetual annuity is $500 in merchandise, and $500 in cash.

### Pinkeshaws

Reside near fort Outinon. They have disposed of a great part of their territory, which formerly extended from the Ohio both sides of the Wabash, some distance above Vincennes, and near to the Illinoi. Their number of warriors in 1795, was estimated at 250 ; probable number of souls 800. It was stipulated by the treaty of Granville, that they should receive, as a perpetual annuity, $500 in merchandise. In 1805, they received a gratuity of $700, and were to receive $200 annually for 10 years. In 1807, they received a gratuity of $1100, and the United States agreed to pay them, as a perpetual annuity, $300 in cash. Their perpetual annuity is $500 in merchandise, and $300 in cash.

*Kaskaskias*, *Piorias*, *Cohakias and Illonese* are nearly all destroyed by the Sacs and Foxes, for killing in cool blood and in time of peace, the Sac's chief, Pontiac. Those few that remain of the Kaskaskias, reside near Kaskaskia, and are very much *adulterated with French blood.* There are a few families of the Piorias, that reside on the Illinoi river, near the lake ; the other are a few wandering families. The whole number of souls does not probably exceed 500. The Kaskaskias receive from the United States, by the treaty of Granville, $500, as a perpetual

annuity. In 1803, the United States stipulated to give them $500 in cash annually, forever. They also gave them, as a gratuity, at this time, $480; appropriated $300 to building them a chapel, and to pay $100 annually, towards the support of a Catholick priest.

### Sauks, or Sacs.

These principally reside in four villages. "The 1. at the head of the rapid Des Moines, on the west shore of Missisippi. 2. On the priarie, 60 miles above, on the east side of the Missisippi river. 3. On the river De Roche, about 3 miles from its entrance. 4. On the river Jowa." Pike. They are a very warlike nation, but are more to be dreaded for deceit and stratagem, than courage. Their language, general Pike considers peculiar to themselves, and original. I am apprehensive, however, that on close investigation, it would be found that the nations in the Illinois territory have a near affinity to each other. The number of warriors in this tribe is 700; probable number of souls 2850. They receive from the United States, from 1803, a perpetual annuity of $300. They and the Foxes, who are in the closest league and may be considered as one nation, received, at the same time, a gratuity of $2234, 50.

*Foxes*, *Reynards*, or *Ottagaumeis*. The Foxes reside in three villages: 1. On the west of the Missisippi river, 6 miles above the rapids Des Moines. 2. Twelve miles in the rear of the lead mines. 3. On Turkey river, half a league from the entrance. This tribe, as also the Sacs, attend considerably to agriculture, and raise, particularly, great quantities of corn, beans, pumpkins and melons. This tribe and the Sauks are in a close league, offensive and defensive. Their language is similar to that of the Sauks. Their numbers—warriors 400; souls 1750. Their annuity from the United States, $400 perpetual.

### Winebagoes, or Puants.

In the opinion of Carver and Pike, this nation, within a century and a half, has emigrated from the west side of the Missisippi to this part of the country. Their lan-

guage is that of the Otto's on the river Platte of the Missouri. They reside on the rivers Ouscousing, De Roche, Fox, and on Green Bay, in 7 villages. 1. At the entrance of Green Bay. 2. The end of the same. 3. Wuckan on Fox river. 4. At Little Puckway. 5. Portage of the Ouscousing. 6 and 7. On Roche river. They are reported brave; but their bravery resembles more the ferocity of the tyger than the resolution of a man. A neighbouring chief drew their character thus: "A white man should never lie down without precaution in their villages." They generally speak, as do all the neighbouring nations, the Chippeway language. Their numbers are — warriors 450; souls 1950.

### Menomene, or Fols-avoines.

This tribe in all probability has also emigrated from the west side of the Missisippi, as its language differs entirely from that of the neighbouring nations. The Chippeway language, however, is perfectly understood by them, and all their publick business is done in it. Their own language is said to be very difficult to acquire. They reside in 7 villages about Green Bay and Fox river. 1. At Menome river, north of Lake Michigan, and 15 miles from Fox river. 2. On Green Bay. 3. At Little Shakalin. 4. Portage of Shakalin. 5. Stenkingon, Winebago Lake. 6. On a small lake of Fox river. 7. Behind the bank of the dead. This tribe is respected by their neighbours for their bravery and independent spirit, and esteemed the peculiar friends of the whites. Their territory is not properly defined. Their hunting grounds are the same as the Winebagoes, on the Ouscousing, Roche, and Fox rivers, and on Green Bay, &c. Their numbers — warriors 300; souls 1350.

### Algonquins, or Chippeways.

This nation is divided into several clans or tribes. When the French first arrived in Canada, they were found on the banks and gulf of St. Lawrence to Montreal, and on the coast of Labrador. They extended also up the Ottawas river to its source. We now find them extending between the Straits of Detroit and Michigan lake;

on the south borders of lake Superiour; the heads of the Missisippi, Red river and lake Winipie; up the Dauphine river and Sashashawin to Fort George; from thence with the course of Beaver river to Elk river, and with it to its discharge into the lake of the hills; from this, east to the isle *a la Crosse*, and by the Missisippi to Churchill. All this must be considered the country of the Algonquins, except a portion about Hudson's straits, which is claimed by the Esquimaux. This nation was formerly very numerous and powerful, but are now greatly reduced by their eternal wars, the small pox, and excessive fondness for spirituous liquors. While the French retained possession of Canada, they were continually fomenting wars between them and the Iroquoise. The upper tribes have also been engaged in a war of extermination with the Sioux nation, from time immemorial. General Pike, in 1805, while on his way to the heads of the Missisippi, succeeded in persuading them to bury the hatchet, and plant the tree of peace. This nation is divided into different clans or tribes, which wander through a vast extent of territory. They do not attend to the cultivation of the earth, but make great use of wild rice, which grows in abundance on the lakes and fens. Their language is copious highly sonorous, and easily acquired. "It is understood by all the tribes from the gulf of St. Lawrence, excepting the Sioux, to lake Winipie." Pike. They are divided into several villages or clans.

1. On an island in Leach Lake, formed by the Missisippi, containing warriors 150; souls 1100.

2. *Crees* residing on the heads of the Missisippi, around Red lake. Warriors 200; souls 800.

3. *Musconogees*, on Red river of lake Winipie, and mouth of Dauphine river. Warriors 100; souls 350.

4. *The Iroquoise Chippeways*, in the lake of the Two Hills, near the mouth of the Ottawas river. Warriors 500; souls 2000. M'Kenzie. These have two Catholick priests among them, and are at least *christened Indians.*

5. *Ottaways*, East side of lake Michigan. They receive from the United States, as a perpetual annuity, $1000 in merchandise, and $800 in cash. They also re-

ceived a gratuity in 1808, of $3333, 33. Their number of warriors 300; of souls 1200.

6. *Chippeways.* East of Huron lake, in Michigan territory. They receive from the United States a perpetual annuity of $1000 in merchandise, and $800 in cash. Their numbers, perhaps, warriors 300; souls 1200.

7. *Algonquines*, residing about Rainy lake and river, and lake of the Woods. Numbers are, warriors 100; souls 300.

8. *Fols-avoin-Sauters* reside on the waters of St. Croix and Chippeway rivers. Numbers, 104 warriors; 420 souls.

9. *Knistenaux.* These are also part of the Chippeway nation, and speak the Algonquine language. They have, however, for some time, been separated from the parent stock, and in alliance with the Assinboin, a revolted branch of the Saoux. They reside on the Assinboin river and the Sashashawine. According to M'Kenzie and Pike, their warriors are 500; souls 2500. According to Breckenridge, only 300 warriors. It was my design to mention the tribes according to the natural divisions of the country; but many being so nearly allied in language, I thought it advisable to notice those which speak the same language next each other.

The following tribes reside east of the Missisippi, and north of the Ohio, to the lakes.

| Tribes. | Warriors. | Souls. | Gratuities. | Perpetual Annuities. merchan. | cash. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wyandots | 300 | 1000 | $33,666⅔ | $1,000 | $1400 |
| Chippeways | 300 | 1000 | | 1,000 | 800 |
| Ottaways | 300 | 1000 | 3,333⅓ | 1,000 | 800 |
| Shawnoes | 200 | 600 | | 1,000 | |
| Putawatamies | 350 | 1200 | 6,666⅔ | 1,000 | 900 |
| Delawares | 300 | 1000 | 21,000 | 1,000 | 500 |
| Miamies | 250 | 1000 | 5,500 | 1,000 | 1,300 |
| Eel River | 175 | 500 | | 500 | 600 |
| Weas | 175 | 500 | 1,500 | 500 | 650 |
| Kickapoos | 300 | 1000 | 1,500 | 500 | 500 |
| Pinkeshaws | 250 | 800 | 3,800 | 500 | 800 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kaskaskias, &c. | 150 | 500 | 80 | 500 | 500 |
| Sauks | 700 | 2850 | 2234,50 | | 600 |
| Foxes | 400 | 1750 | | | 400 |
| Winebagoes | 450 | 1950 | | | |
| Menomene | 300 | 1350 | | | |
| Sauters, or Fols-avoines | 104 | 420 | | | |
| Crees | 200 | 800 | | | |
| | 5,204 | 19,220 | | $9,500 | $9,750 |

### Cherokees.

This tribe formerly resided on the Atlantick coast, near Charleston, (S. C.) According to tradition they drove off some tribe which possessed their present territory. They still claim a great portion of the mountainous part of Tennessee towards the south-east, and some part of Georgia contiguous to it. Their situation is high and healthy, and portions of their land very fertile. They have made greater progress in civilization and agriculture, than any Indian tribe within the United States. Many have large fine farms, and raise large quantities of corn and other grain; also flocks and herds, and make their own clothing. Many also, I am sorry to add, have a number of slaves! Their language bears no affinity to that of either of the neighbouring tribes. Loskiel observes, that it is a mixture of Shawnoese and Iroquoise. And Barton thinks it bears an affinity to the language of the six nations. They receive from the United States by the treaty of 1794, $500 in merchandise. In 1798, they received a gratuity of $5000, and $100 more in merchandise, as a perpetual annuity. In 1806, $2000 for four years, and to Black-Fox, a chief, $100 annually, and gratuity of $2000. The number in this nation, as taken by Rev. G. Blackburn, is 12,395 souls; probably 3000 warriors. There was a mission established in this tribe by Rev. Gideon Blackburn, in 1804. His attention was more particularly directed to the rising generation. He gave the rudiments of a common English education to 400 or 500 children, and instructed

them at the same time in the principles of the christian religion. There was some hopeful converts; one among the scholars. He was necessitated to forsake the mission for want of support. When he came to settle the affairs of the mission he found himself $500 out of pocket; and has since been obliged to sell his farm at Marysville, chiefly to pay this debt, and those which were necessarily incurred, while engaged in the mission, through the neglect which his private concerns suffered. This sum has never been refunded to him. If missionaries are left to go to this warfare at their own charges, the field will soon be forsaken. Mr. Blackburn left the mission in 1810. Since that time the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church have continued a school in the nation. One of the half breed, formerly a pupil of Mr. B. has also had a school. A Moravian has been in the nation for several years; what has been his success I know not. But while Mr. B. had his school in operation, and as many scholars as he could accommodate, the Moravian had not more than two or three that attended him.

The plan Mr. B. pursued was to clothe and board the scholars, and furnish the school with books at the expense of the mission. As soon as a scholar arrived, the Indian dress was laid aside, and he was clothed after the American mode. The children were never suffered to address an instructer, but in the English language. Nothing was done by compulsion; but by disgracing them for bad conduct, and rewarding merit and good behaviour. Their amusements were those of children among ourselves; at all times endeavouring to introduce something which might be useful. The school was opened and closed by prayer, and singing, and reading the scriptures. The progress made by the children will be seen by an extract of a history of one of the schools, containing near fifty scholars, and some letters accompanying this report. Mr. B. distributed some hundred bibles, catechisms and tracts among the children, as rewards, &c.

Here is a door opened for the spread of the gospel. It is the opinion of Mr. B. had he been supported in the mission, that, ere this, he might have been able to extend

the mission to the Chickesaws and Chactaws, if not also to the Creeks.

### Chickesaws.

This tribe still claim the lands between the Missisippi, Ohio, and Tennessee rivers, to the mouth of Duck river—up Duck river to nearly opposite Lick Creek—from thence to the head of the North branch of Buffaloe river, thence in a line nearly S. S. E. unto the mouth of India Creek of the Tennessee—down the Tennessee river to the bottom of Muscle shoals, from thence in a straight line to where the 12° west longitude from Philadelphia intersects the 33°, 30′ north latitude, and with this parallel of latitude to the Missisippi. The States of South Carolina and Georgia have formerly sold all their lands, as also part of the Cherokees'; the United States, however, since these sales, have granted to the tribes their respective territories by treaty.

The Chickesaws were once a very powerful nation, and their name was a terrour to all the surrounding tribes: they carried their wars even to Mexico and New Spain, and looked upon all the tribes on the Mobile, &c. as their brethren. They are not now what they once were; for although they have adopted the Yazoos, Coroas, Chiachi-Oumas, Oufi-Ougulas, and Tapowsas, still they are but a handful; and "to them it has literally happened, that he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." Du Pratz.

This nation was formerly from the west of the Missisippi, at which time their warriors were estimated at 10,000. Their language, according to Du Pratz, was once spoken by all, or nearly all, the nations in the lower Louisiana, and appears to have been the court language of those regions.

The New-York Missionary Society have had a mission here for a few years; but meeting with little success, it has been discontinued. Mr. Blackburn informed me, that Colbert, one of the chiefs, observed, "that he perceived the missionary was not qualified for the station, and therefore dismissed him." They are by no means unfriendly

to missions, for Mr. B. has been applied to by one of the chiefs to open a school among them; and that they are sincere in this is evident from the fact, that the Indians do support a school at their own expense. The teacher is a vagabond; but has agreed not to get drunk, except on Saturdays and Sundays. I am also persuaded, that the agent, Mr. Robertson, would favour the object. It is also a very fortunate circumstance, that the publick interpreter is a serious man, and hopefully pious; as I was informed by Mr. Bullen, the former missionary among them. This tribe has made great progress in civilization and agriculture. In general they are removing out of their old villages, and clearing up small plantations, on which they raise corn and other kinds of grain, potatoes, melons, and cotton. The women spin, weave, and knit, and have very comfortable dwellings. Many of them have large herds of cattle and droves of swine, which live, winter and summer, in the woods, without much attention. Those who live on the publick roads sell great quantities of corn, and sometimes prepare a comfortable meal for a hungry traveller.—A number of the Chickesaws have removed west of the Missisippi. The number of souls in this nation is 3500; and 1000 warriors. They receive from the United States, by the treaty of 1802, a gratuity of $700, and $3000 as a perpetual annuity; in 1807, they received a gratuity of $20000. G. Colbert and O. Koy, $1000 each; and the king $100 annually.

### Chactaws

Reside south of the Chickesaws, and claim the country from the Missisippi to the dividing ridge between the waters of the Tombigby and Coose rivers, and extending south to a little below the 32° of north latitude. From the mouth of Yazou they sold the land for perhaps 30 miles back. They have two traditions among them of their origin: one, that they came from the west, the other, that they sprung out of a large Indian mound on Pearl river. Du Pratz observes, that they were said to have sprung out of the ground by the neighbouring tribes, in allusion to their sudden appearance in the coun-

try, not knowing from whence they came. An old Indian gave a very rational explication of the tradition, that they sprung out of the mound between the forks of Pearl river. The banks of these streams are a marsh, and at that time probably formed an impassable ravine. There is an embankment, which served as a fortification from one branch to the other, and which, with the ravines, encloses an area of nearly three miles. He observed to the agent, S. Dinsmore, "that their ancestors, when they arrived in this country, knew not what the inhabitants were; for their own protection, therefore, they cast up this mound, and enclosed and fortified this area, to plant their corn, and as a defence against enemies. This mound served as a place for look-out, to give notice of the approach of invaders. When this was accomplished, they sent our their hunters to see what were the inhabitants of the land. These on their return reported, that they could dwell in safety, that the land was good, and game in abundance. On this they left their encampment as it may be called, and settled in different parts of the country. From this arose the tradition that they sprung or crept out of the mound." They undoubtedly came from the west. Their language is the same as the Chickesaws, with a trifling variation in the pronunciation. The Chickesaws pronounce their words short and emphatick. The Chactaws lengthen out their syllables with something of a musical cadence. These two tribes can understand each other better, perhaps, than we can a Scotchman when he speaks English. This nation is making great improvements in agriculture and civilization; the chiefs encourage it; and myself have seen, in one of their houses, spinning, weaving, and knitting; and themselves clothed in cloth of their own manufacture. They raise great quantities of corn; and also considerable stocks of cattle, and horses, hogs, poultry, &c.

The number of this nation was formerly very great. Du Pratz mentions, that they had 25000 warriors. At present they are about 15000 souls, probably 4000 warriors. It is calculated, that between 2 and 3000 of this nation have already emigrated west of the Missisippi;

and it is the opinion of their agent, that, if the United States would encourage it, they might all be removed in a few years without difficulty.

They have received from the United States, in 1802, a gratuity of $2000; in 1808, a gratuity of $48000; John Pitchlyn, $2500; and each of the chiefs $500. Also a perpetual annuity of $3000, and $150 to each of their chiefs, during their continuance in office.

I have had considerable conversation with the agent of this nation on the subject of missions among them. He expressed himself favourable to the object, and wished a school might be immediately opened at the agency. He assured me, that the Indians were panting for instruction, and had earnestly requested him to have schools established among them. He thinks the use of any quantity of land might be obtained toward the support of the mission.

## Creeks

Is a fictitious name given to this nation by the traders, from the circumstance of the country they inhabit being intersected by Creeks. This country was formerly inhabited by many independent nations; some of which are nearly or quite extinct; and those that remain are confederated and known by the name of Creeks. The Muscogees, or Middle Creeks, were intruders here, and drove off the Seminoless, or Lower Creeks; and finally so far subdued them, as to compel them to peace and a union. So also with many other nations, which now constitute this confederacy. That the Creeks are a confederacy of different nations, is evident from the different languages that are spoken among them. I was informed by the interpreter, who accompanied the king of the Tauchebatchee district to Fort St. Stephens, and whom I met there in April last, on my return from New Orleans, that there were the following languages spoken in the nation at different towns—the Muscogee, Ouchee, Savanogee, Alabama, Naches, Hitchetee, Tuskegee, Oukehaee, and Queseda. Half of the nation nearly speak

the Muscogee language. This nation resides south of the Cherokee. The boundary between them is the high tower; from thence west to the boundary line between the Chactaws and Chickesaws. On the west they are bounded by Mobile Bay, Alabama river, and the dividing ridge of the waters of the Coose and Tombigby. Their east and south boundary I am not able to describe. They extend, however, some distance into East Florida.

This nation have made considerable improvements in agriculture and civilization. Their conduct towards the Americans has generally been marked with deceit and insolence; and we have had more difficulty to restrain them than any other nation. They have frequently committed murders and depredations in time of peace. They are now at open war; and, were it necessary, I could trace this to its origin; but, as this is unconnected with my object, I shall omit it.

The agent of this nation is opposed to the spread of the gospel among them. He appears to be anxious to make an experiment, what can be made of man, free from the restraints of the gospel and revelation. If he has not found, ere this, that the *child of nature*, like her *scenes*, appears most perfect and beautiful at a distance, where the fancy completes the picture, he is blind indeed. This gentleman has been amusing, for some years, two Moravians with the prospect of preaching to them, as soon as they have made sufficient attainments to understand the gospel. At present they are engaged at the agency in mechanical employments. I cannot learn, that there is even a school among them to give them instruction, and thus prepare them to understand the gospel. The numbers in this nation are probably 20000 souls; 5000 warriors. Some of this confederacy have emigrated west of the Missisippi. They received from the United States, in 1797, a gratuity of $6000, and a perpetual annuity of $1500; in 1803, a gratuity of $25000 and $1000 for 10 years, and also a perpetual annuity of $3000; in 1806, $1000 for eight years, and $10000 for ten years, thereafter, besides 2 blacksmiths, for eleven years.

The Indians in the south western parts of the United States proper, or in the states of Tennessee, Georgia and Missisippi territory, are the following:

| Tribes. | Warriors. | Souls. | Gratuities. | Perpetual merchan. | Annuities. cash. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cherokees | 3000 | 12395 | $23200 | $600 | $3000 |
| Chickesaws | 1000 | 3500 | 29000 | | 3000 |
| Chactaws | 4000 | 15000 | 54000 | | 3000 |
| Creeks | 5000 | 20000 | 231000 | | 4800 |
| Total, | 13000 | 50895 | $337200 | $600 | $13800 |
| Total of the Tribes between the Ohio and the Lakes. | 5204 | 19220 | 79487 | 9500 | 9250 |
| Total in the U. S. west of the Alleghany mountains. | 18204 | 70115 | 416687 | 10100 | 23050 |

Of the tribes in the United States proper, the Cherokees, Chickesaws and Chactaws appear the most favourable for the establishment of a mission with the prospect of success. To the Cherokees, the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church have turned their attention, and are looking for missionaries of a proper character, to send among them. This tribe, therefore, we will leave out of consideration, and take a view of the others—Chickesaws and Chactaws. These two tribes are more numerous than the aggregate of all the tribes between the Ohio and the lakes; and also speak the same language. From these circumstances solely, other things being equal, a mission would be more desirable, and the prospect of success greater, than among either of the small tribes in Indiana or Illinoi. There are other reasons which induce us to give these nations the preference. They have already made great progress in agriculture and civilization, and are by degrees casting off the Indian habit, and adopting the modes of the whites. They are generally removing out of their villages, giving up the hunting life, clearing small plantations, and raising domestick animals. They have already experienced, many of them, the blessings which flow from this change of habits, and are anxious to make further improvements; and many of them feel that

this is the only way left to save themselves from extermination and ruin. It is not to be expected, that they are anxious to have preaching, for of this they little know the advantages, though Mr. Bullen informed me many of the Chickesaws gave earnest attention, and appeared much affected under preaching. It is, however, more than probable, that they are anxious to have their children educated; and it will perhaps hereafter appear, that the most effectual way to introduce christianity among the Indians is, to train and instruct the rising generations in the way they should go. From the application of the Chickesaw chief to Mr. Blackburn, and the fact that they support a school at their own expense; and from what the agent observed, it appears evident, that schools, at least, might be established among them. Another thing very worthy of consideration is, that the agents of these tribes are men of reputable character, regular habits, and, if I have been correctly informed, professors of religion; and would doubtless encourage, at least, the attempt of planting a mission among them.

For the reasons that have been given, a mission among those tribes promises more success than one among the Creeks; for their languages are different in different villages, and, above all, their agent is hostile to missions. The same reasons induce me also to fix on these tribes in preference to any in Louisiana. It would be highly desirable, in a missionary view, to find a tribe uncontaminated by the vices of the whites; and where the iniquitous trader by his treachery has never learned the Indian to deceive, or by his persuasion to get drunk; but it is in vain to attempt to find a tribe in Louisiana, that has not had intercourse with the Spanish, French, British, or American trader. It is to be observed here, that we held no conferences with the Indians of those tribes on the subject of a mission among them at some future day. The situation of our national affairs, and that of those tribes themselves, was such as rendered it inexpedient. Moreover, the inquiries you desired might be made, were many of them of such a nature, had they been made to the

Indians they would have led, at this peculiar juncture, to suspicions of some evil designs, which, perhaps, it would have been impossible to remove. Neither did we consider ourselves authorized, provided we could obtain the consent of these tribes, to stipulate, that a mission would certainly be established among them *at any future time*. It was, therefore, thought unadvisable to attempt to assemble a council of the tribes. The time, when this Society shall feel it their duty, and have ability to turn their particular attention to the Indians of the west, might be so far distant, as completely to defeat the object which it was intended to promote. The Indians are very scrupulous in expecting the performance of obligations on our part, and by delay might have supposed themselves trifled with, and neglected.*

* "Respecting the tribes, residing in the Missisippi territory principally," Mr. Mills observes: "They very much need religious instruction; and the establishment of schools among them might, most likely would, prove very beneficial to them. Many of the Cherokees very much regretted that Mr. Blackburn could not continue with them. They were ready to appropriate a considerable tract of land to be improved for the benefit of the school. The salutary effects of the mission were apparent even to the Indians themselves. I believe that there is not at present a school among either the Cherokees, Chactaws, or Creeks. I was told there was a school among the Chickesaws, but could not learn accurately the state of it. No long time since, the Chickesaw chief, or rather one of the principal men of that nation, made application to Mr. Blackburn to take up his residence with him, and pursue his own course of education with the children in the tribe. He engaged to furnish as many scholars as he could teach, and likewise to appropriate a tract of land for the benefit of the establishment. Mr. Robertson is agent of Indian affairs with this nation. He will favour any institution, which may be introduced for the benefit of the natives. Mr. Meigs is the agent residing with the Cherokees; he is also disposed to favour the religious instruction of the Indians. He was always ready to assist Mr. Blackburn. Mr. Dinsmore is agent for the Chactaws. He is decidedly in favour of the establishment of schools among the natives, but would not so readily favour a missionary at the present time, unless he came in the character of a school master. He thinks the missionary should be acquainted with the language of the tribe he instructs, as but little confidence can be placed in interpreters. He was inclined to think that the Indians of that tribe would grant the use of as large a tract of land, as could be improved for the benefit of a school, should one be introduced among them. This tribe, as well as the other tribes in the Missisippi territory, are making considerable advances towards civilization. The Chactaw women made in the course of the last year 18 or 20,000 yards of cloth. No attempt has ever been made to introduce schools, or to give religious instruction to those belonging to this tribe. The present agent for the Creeks, if report be true, would not favour any institution among these Indians, of a religious kind. The present season cannot be deemed a favourable one for the commencement of schools, or for sending religious teachers among these Indians Their minds are much agitated by the present unhappy state of our national affairs. Some of them are evidently hostile to the United States."—*Letter to Secretary.*

## WEST OF THE MISSISIPPI.

The country west of the Missisippi has been explored chiefly by Lewis and Clark, who went to the Pacifick, by the Missouri and Columbia rivers; by General Pike, who ascended the Missisippi, the Ossage, and went to the head waters of the Arkensaw and Rio Del Norte, and returned by the way of St. Fee-Antonio to Natchitoches; by Dr. Silby, who ascended the Red river, and visited the adjacent country. What I shall note concerning the Indians, west of the Missisippi, is chiefly taken from manuscripts furnished by Mr. Breckenridge, judge of the district Point-Coupee, who has himself ascended the Missouri to the Mandane villages, and visited several other parts of Louisiana, and who also had access to the manuscripts of Lewis and Clark and Dr. Silby. I shall, at the same time, compare this information with that furnished by General Pike. The few observations concerning the Indians, south of the Arkensaw river, are taken chiefly from Silby; those on Rio Del-Norte, and in New Mexico, and between the Arkensaw, the Platte and Missouri, and the heads of Missisippi, from Pike; those on the Missouri above the Platte, and to the west and north, from Breckenridge, Lewis and Clark, and M'Kenzie. Many of the tribes south of the Arkensaw are nearly extinct. Of those that remain, the chief that I shall attempt, is merely to give their names, numbers, and, if possible, their language.

### Caddoques

Formerly resided on Red river, about 400 miles above Natchitoches; at present they reside 20 miles west of the main branch of Red river, and only 120 miles by land, west of Natchitoches. The French formerly had a settlement here. They have a tradition among them, it is said, of a deluge. The number of warriors, according to Breckenridge, is 100; souls 400. But according to another account, that I have seen, they are 3 or 400 warriors. Their language has no known affinity to any other already mentioned; but it is spoken by several neighbouring tribes.

### Yattasies

Reside 50 miles above Natchitoches, on Bagan-Piére. The French formerly had a settlement and factory at this place. These people observe, the French *were* the people the Americans *are now*. This tribe live in a fixed village, and do not exceed 100 souls; 30 men. They speak Caddo language.

### Nanda-quees

Reside on the Sabine, 60 miles from Natchitoches. Their numbers, men 40; souls 200. Language Caddo.

### Addaise

Reside 40 miles from Natchitoches, below the Yattasies. Numbers, 20 men; 100 souls. Their language differs from all others, and is extremely difficult to acquire. They speak Caddo.

### Aleche or Egeish

Live near Nagadoches, but are nearly extinct. The small pox a few years since committed great ravages among them. Their language, as far as it is known, is peculiar to the tribe; but the Caddo language is spoken and understood by them. Their numbers do not exceed 40 or 50 souls; 15 men.

### Keyes

Reside on the Trinity river, near where the road from Antonio to Natchitoches crosses it. They are about 60 men; 200 souls, and have a language peculiar to themselves, but speak Caddo.

### Tachies

Live on a branch of the Sabine. Their language is Caddo, and their numbers 80 men; souls 300. This tribe give their name to the province of Texas.

### Nabadachies

Live in the same neighbourhood, S. W. of Sabine river. Their numbers 80 men; 300 souls.

### Beddies

Reside on the Trinity river, about 60 miles south of Nacogdoches. They have 100 men; 320 souls. Speak Caddo, but have a different language.

### Acco-kesaws

Reside 200 miles S. W. of Nacogdoches, on the west side of the Colorado, and wander towards the bay. This tribe has only 80 men; 250 souls. Their language is original, says Breckenridge. It would, perhaps, be safer to say concerning those remnants of tribes, whose language we do not understand, that we are ignorant to what language theirs bears an affinity.

### Mayes

Reside on the bay of St. Bernard, near the Gaudaloupe river. They speak the Attacapas, but have a different language. Their numbers are 200 men; 680 souls.

### Coran-canas

Live on an island or peninsula in the bay of St. Bernard. Their numbers are 500 men; 1800 souls; at war with the Spaniards. Language original; but speak the Attacapas.

### Cances

Are a very numerous nation, and are divided into several clans or tribes, which are spread over different parts of the country, from the bay of St. Bernard to Vera-Cruz. Numbers, perhaps, 2,000 warriors; 7,500 souls. Speak an original language.

### Tan-ka-ways, or Tankards,

Are a tribe that border on Red river, towards St. Fee. Breckenridge estimates their numbers at 200 warriors; 700 souls. Pike says they have 600 warriors; if so, 2000 souls.

### Ta-wak-enoes, or Three Cones,

Usually reside on the west side of the braces, 200 miles west of Nagadoches towards St. Fee. They are

estimated at 350 men, and 1000 souls. Their language is said to be the same as that of the Panis or Pawnee, on the Platte of the Missouri.

### Toweaches, or Panis,

Live south of Red river, 800 miles above Natchitoches by water, but 340 by land. Their warriors are estimated at 400; souls 1300. They speak the last mentioned language.

### Oppelousas

Are a few stragglers and vagabonds that wander over the district by this name. Their numbers 40 men; 160 souls.

### Attakapas

Are also a few wandering wretches, in the district of country to which they have given their name. By intermixture with some Tunicas, they amount to 80 men—250 souls.

*The Natchitoches, Kumas, Avogall, and Washas* tribes are extinct, or nearly so, as such; but many have united with other tribes.

The following 10 tribes are emigrants from the Creeks and Chactaws.

### Boluxas

Are emigrants from Pensacola. They came with a few French families, and are settled about 40 miles below Natchitoches. Their numbers are estimated at 25 men; 100 souls.

### Appalaches

Are also emigrants from West Florida, and reside on Bayon rapid of Red river; speak Mobilian. Numbers 15 men; 50 souls.

### Alibamas

Have emigrated from Florida; reside partly in Oppelousas, and some near the Caddoques. Men 70; souls 250; speak Mobilian.

### Canchattas

Are of the same people with the Alibamas, and emigrated only 10 or 12 years since. Numbers—warriors 200; souls 600; live on the Sabine.

### Pacanas

Are a small tribe that reside on the Quelqueshoe river, which heads S. W. of Nachitoches. Numbers 30 men; 100 souls; speak Mobilian, though possessing an original language.

### Tunscas

Reside at Avogall; are from Florida; speak Mobilian, though they have a distinct language. Warriors 25; souls 80.

### Pascagaulas

Live in a small village 60 miles above Natchitoches. They are emigrants from the east of the Missisippi. It is said, they have a peculiar language, but speak Mobilian. 25 men; 100 souls.

### Tensas

Reside on Bagou Beauf, and were formerly from Tensa river, near Mobile bay. Men 25; souls 100.

### Chaetoos

Live on Bagou Beauf, towards Oppelousas. They have 30 men; 100 souls. They possess an original language, but speak Mobilian.

### Chactaws

Are in little repute, either among white or red people. They are scattered almost over every part of Louisiana. The disrepute of this clan may easily be accounted for. They are composed of the discontented, querelous and insolent of the Chactaw nation, east of the Missisippi, who have crossed into Louisiana for the purpose of plunder, war, and to escape punishment for crimes committed in their own nation; and some, also, because the means of subsistence by hunting were more easily obtained there, than in Missisippi Territory. Numbers, 500 warriors; 2500 souls; scattered over different parts of lower Louisiana.

The last ten tribes mentioned as distinct, and many of which, Silby observes, have a distinct language, though

they speak the Mobilian, have all emigrated from Mississippi territory and Georgia, and are or were parts of the Chactaws, or Creek Indians. What Silby observes, therefore, as to their possessing a language distinct from the Mobilian, I apprehend is erroneous; for it is a fact that the Chactaws and Chickesaws speak the same language; and Du Pratz observes, that the Chickesaws and Alibamans speak the same language. But the Alibamans, says Dr. Silby, speak the Mobilian; of course, to those parts of the nation that have crossed over the Missisippi, the Mobilian is their former tongue, and not a different language, as Silby observes.

Having found Silby so inaccurate in this plain case, I doubt of his correctness in attributing to many tribes, which speak the Caddo, a different language, and one peculiar to themselves, and which has no affinity to any other known.

### Arkensas, or Ozark,

Reside in three villages on the Arkensas river, not far above the post, which is 50 miles from the Missisippi. Those of this nation, that I have seen, are the most stupid and filthy of all the Indians with whom I am acquainted. The Chactaws are constantly making war upon them, and at one time they were nearly extinct. At present several of the Indians east of the Missisippi, have settled with them, and their numbers may now be estimated at 200 warriors, and 600 souls. Their language bears a near affinity to the Ossage.

### Kyaways

Are a nation residing in New Mexico; but are erratic, and wander near the sources of the Arkensas and Platte. They, with the Utahs and Tetaus, or Cumeehes, have a common language. Pike estimates their number of warriors at 1000, probably 3500 souls. This nation has immense droves of horses, and are continually at war with the Tetaus, and sometimes with the Spaniards, Pawnees, and Sioux.

Pike.

### Utahs

Wander on the sources of the Rio Del Norte. They are rather more civilized than the Kyaways, arising from their intercourse with the Spaniards. They, as also the nation last mentioned, are armed with bows, arrows, and lancets. Warriors 2000; souls 7000. Pike.

### Tetaus, or Cumeehes, or Padoucas,

Are an erratic tribe, and wander towards New Mexico, or Red river and La Platte. They are treated with great civility by the Spaniards, since they have found them a most dangerous and destructive enemy. Their numbers are estimated by Pike at 2700 warriors; 8000 souls. This nation, the Utahs, and Kyaways speak the same language.

### Namakaus

Are also erratic, and wander to the N. W. of St. Fee. They are frequently at war with the Spaniards. This nation is supposed to have 2000 warriors, 6500 souls. Their language is the same as that of the Appache and Le Panis, or Pawnee, and is spoken by those nations west of them, to California. Pike.

### Appeches

Are a nation extending from the black mountains in New Mexico, to Coquillee, and keep the frontiers of these provinces in constant alarm, and render it necessary for the Spanish government to employ 2000 dragoons to protect the villages, and escort the caravans. This nation extended formerly from the entrance of the Rio Grande to California, and have carried on a continual warfare with the Spaniards, ever since they penetrated into the internal provinces. Many very heroic feats are related by Pike concerning them. Their numbers are not estimated by Pike. We cannot, from what is said of them, suppose them less than 2500 warriors, and 8500 souls.

The following table exhibits the different tribes between the Arkensaw and Rio Del Norte, which, as far as I can

learn, is sometimes called the Rio Grande. The Cances and Kyaways, however, extend somewhat to the south and west of the Rio Del Norte.

| Tribes. | Warriors. | Souls. | Tribes. | Warriors. | Souls. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cadoques | 100 | 400 | Attacapas | 80 | 250 |
| Yattasies | 30 | 100 | Boluxas | 25 | 100 |
| Nan-da-quees | 40 | 200 | Appalaches | 15 | 50 |
| Addaise | 20 | 100 | Alibamans | 70 | 250 |
| Aleche | 15 | 50 | Canchattas | 200 | 600 |
| Keyes | 60 | 200 | Pacanas | 30 | 100 |
| Tachies | 80 | 300 | Tunscas | 25 | 80 |
| Nabadachies | 80 | 300 | Pascagulas | 25 | 100 |
| Beddies | 100 | 320 | Tensas | 25 | 100 |
| Accokesaws | 80 | 250 | Chaetoos | 30 | 100 |
| Mayes | 200 | 680 | *Chactaws | 500 | 2500 |
| Coran-canas | 500 | 1800 | Arkensas | 200 | 600 |
| Cances | 2000 | 7500 | †Kyaways | 1000 | 3500 |
| Tankards | 200 | 700 | Utahs | 2000 | 7000 |
| Tawakenoes | 350 | 1000 | Namakaus | 2000 | 6500 |
| Toweaches | 400 | 1300 | Apeches | 2500 | 8500 |
| Oppelousas | 40 | 160 | Tetaus | 2700 | 8200 |
| Total in Lower Louisiana, | | | | 15720 | 53890 |

*THE TRIBES SOUTH OF THE MISSOURI AND PLATTE RIVERS, AND NORTH OF THE ARKENSAS.*

### Ossage.

This nation is divided into several tribes; the Kensas, Arkensas, Ottoos, Missouris, Mahas, Poncas, Joways, and Winebagoes. I suppose all these different tribes, strictly speaking, originally constituted but one nation, for their language, manners, and customs, are

* The number of Chactaws here noted are scattered in different parts of Louisiana, to the north, as well as south of the Arkensaw river.

† The five last tribes reside chiefly in the Spanish dominions, as now claimed by them. Our claim, however, under the title of Louisiana, extends south to the Rio De Grande. Because I considered them, strictly speaking, in Louisiana, I have noted them in this place. I shall take no particular notice of the Indians in New-Spain, because I have no means of information, which can be relied on as correct. As far as I can learn, the Catholicks have missionaries among all the tribes or nations in that country.

very similar. Which of the languages of these tribes may be considered as original, and which dialectical, I am not able to determine. My reason for placing the Ossage first, and calling theirs original is, that they are first in numbers, and in character.

The Ossage tribe is divided into three clans—The Great Ossage, Little Ossage and Big Track; and may, perhaps a century hence, should they survive, be considered different nations, with as much propriety as many of the tribes enumerated. The Great Ossage village is situated on the river Ossage, 200 miles from its confluence with the Missouri. The Little Ossage, which separated from the main tribe, about 100 years since, for a long time lived on the Missouri; but not being able to withstand their powerful enemies, the Sioux, they were compelled to settle in the neighbourhood of the Great Ossages. Since peace has been established by the United States between those Indians, many of them have again returned to the banks of the Missouri. The Big Track is a party which were led off by a French trader about 20 years since, and are settled on Verdigrise river, 60 miles from its junction with the Arkensas. Great numbers join this band annually from the other bodies of the tribe; and ere long, it is probable, they will all remove to the plains of the Arkensas, on account of the superiour advantages for hunting and subsistence. The Ossage Indians have ceded to the United States all the lands between the Missisippi, Arkensaw and Missouri rivers, and a line drawn directly south from Fort Ossage, 36 miles below the mouth of Kansas river to the Arkensas. For this land they received from the United States, in 1810, the great Ossage, a gratuity of $800, and a perpetual annuity of $1000 in cash; Little Ossage, a gratuity of $400, and an annuity of $500 perpetual. The language spoken by this nation, is considered as original, at least it bears no affinity to any of the languages east of the Missisippi, except the Winebagoes, which are supposed to be descended from the same stock. Their numbers according to Pike, are,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Great Ossage | 502 warriors; | 1695 souls. |
| Little Ossage | 250 | 824 |
| Big Track | 500 | 1500 |
| | 1252 | 4019 |

According to Breckenridge, Ossages, 1500 warriors, 7000 souls.

### Kansas

Reside on the north branch of the Kansas river, 100 miles from its junction with the Missouri. The language, manners, and customs of this people, with the exception of a few local peculiarities, are the same as the Ossages. A few years since they were the greatest scoundrels on the Missouri, robbing traders, and ill treating the whites; but within a few years, in consequence of a severe defeat by the Pawnees, in which they lost their greatest and best warriors, they have been humbled, and are more peaceable. They are a stout, hardy, daring race of men, and esteemed the bravest warriors. Their numbers, according to Pike, are, warriors 465; souls 1560—to Breckenridge, warriors 300, souls 1300.

### Ottoos

Are supposed to be the descendants of the ancient Missouris. They speak one language, which is lofty and sonorous, and bears a near affinity in the Ossage. They reside 45 miles up the Platte from the Missouri. They are not numerous, but estimated brave. Warriors 150; souls 500.

### Missouris

Are the remnant of one of the most numerous tribes in those parts, and have given their name to the river. They have been destroyed by war and the small pox. It is supposed that none of the nations on the Missouri, or in the interior, are one half, and many of them not one tenth so numerous, as they were 25 years since. This tribe formerly resided at the mouth of the Grande river.

At present they reside and are incorporated with the Ottoos. Warriors 50; souls 300.

### Mahas

Reside on the Missouri, principally at Mahas Creek, 240 miles above Platte river. They are very friendly to the whites, and have considerable trade. Their manners, customs, and language, are similar to the Ossage. They have been greatly reduced, as to numbers, within 10 years. Their present numbers are 250 warriors; 800 souls.

Mr. Breckenridge related to me, that the principal chief, or king of this tribe, was a very wicked and cruel man; that he pretended to have familiar intercourse with spirits; and would frequently foretell the death of some of his people. The events so regularly happened, according to his predictions, that immediately on his telling a person that he should die, the man began his death song, and died accordingly. It was supposed, that before the king made such declarations, he took some means to administer to them some subtile poison. This produced great fear of him, among the Indians; and after his death they took his body, placed it in a sitting position, on his finest horse, and raised a large mound over them, and now worship him, as the Indians do the evil spirits, to appease their wrath, and avert their anger. Will this circumstance of of the *mound* afford a clue to the probable design of some *mounds found in the western country?*

### Panis, or Pawnees,

Are a tribe from New Mexico, and formerly was a part of the famous and implacable enemies of the Spaniards, the Appeches. There are two other branches of this nation, which have been already noticed, the Ta-wak-enoes, and Toweachas on Red river. The Pawnees are divided into three clans. The Pawnee proper, Republicans, and Loups.

The Pawnee proper are said to have made considerable progress in civilization, and generally treat traders and whites, who visit them, with respect and hospitality. They reside on the south side of the Platte, about 100 miles from its mouth; the Republicans, on the Republican

branch of the Platte; the Loups, on Wolf river. This tribe has no idea of the exclusive right of soil; they claim only what they possess. They hunt on the Platte and Kensas. Their language, I shall denominate the Appechee, because I consider them sprung from that stock, and because there is a near affinity between the two languages. Their numbers, according to Pike, are,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pawnee proper | 1000 | warriors; | 3120 souls. |
| Republicans and Loups | 485 | | 1485 |
| | 1485 | | 4605 |

According to Breckenridge,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pawnee proper | 400 | warriors; | 1600 souls. |
| Republicans | 350 | | 1400 |
| Loups | 300 | | 1400 |
| | 1050 | | 4400 |

### Aricaries

Are also a branch of the Appeches, as is evident from the affinity of their language, and similarity of their customs, to the Pawnee. They must also have emigrated from New Mexico. They reside now on the Missouri, in two villages, about 1440 miles from the Missisippi. This nation is said to be very industrious, and frequently to have corn three years old. They are very dissolute in their manners, as will appear hereafter. Formerly they were very numerous, as is evident from the number of deserted villages; their numbers are estimated at 250 warriors; 800 souls. This tribe, like the Pawnee, have no idea of exclusive right of soil.

### Poncas, or Poncars,

Formerly were a very numerous tribe; but at the beginning of this century were driven from their habitations, and nearly extirpated by the Sioux. During their war with the Sioux, and until 1811, they led a wandering life. They now reside on the Missouri, a few miles below the Quiacre river, 1000 miles from the Missisippi. Their character is that of thievish, marauding, insolent, and

vicious. Their language is the same as the Mahas, and they are probably descended from the same stock, Ossage. 50 warriors; 300 souls.

### Mandans

Reside about 1600 miles up the Missouri, in two villages, a few miles below Knife river. Formerly, this tribe was numerous, and, according to their traditions, consisted of 17 villages; which is rendered probable, from meeting in this part of the country, with the ruins of many deserted villages. This goes to corroborate what has been in another place advanced, that many of the tribes on the Missouri, have been reduced to half, others to a tenth, of their former population. The language of this tribe, is not known to have an affinity to any other; they, however, speak the language of the Gross-ventres. 350 warriors; 1250 souls. At these villages was erected a fort and trading establishment in 1811.

### A-wa-ha-was, or Sauliers.

This is a small tribe, which reside only three miles above the Mandan villages, on the Missouri. According to their tradition, they originally constituted a part of the Crow-Indians, but in consequence of a quarrel of two chiefs, over the carcase of a buffaloe, which both claimed, a separation took place. They speak the Crow language; live in one village. 50 men; 300 souls.

*Minetares, or Gross-ventres, Fall, or Big-bellied, or Paunche Indians.* These are different names given by different persons to the same nation; as they are divided in different bands, and live in different parts of the country. Minetares, or Gross-ventres, reside in four villages, on both sides of Knife river, near its confluence with the Missouri, five miles above the Mandan villages. Breckenridge is of opinion, that these, as well as the Sauliers, formerly constituted a part of the Crow nation; though they have been in their present villages, as far back as their traditions extend. They speak the same language as the tribe last mentioned. If *they* speak the Crow language, these speak the same. Warriors 600; souls 2500.

### Fall, or Big-bellied Indians,

Sometimes called *Gross-ventres* of the *Priarie*, reside at the confluence of the north and south branches of the Saskatshawine river, and extend from thence to the great bend in the Missouri, in latitude 47° 30′ north. Numbers, according to Breckenridge, 500 warriors, 2000 souls. M'Kenzie, 700 men. "Speak the Crow language."

Breckenridge.

### Paunche, or Al-la-ka-we-ah,

Live on the Yellow Stone river, and wander in different parts, on the heads of the Missouri, near the Rocky Mountains. This tribe is said to be hospitable and peaceful. Numbers, 800 warriors; 2500 souls. Supposed to speak the Crow language.

### Crow-Indians, or Absaroka,

Are divided into four bands, and wander on the Yellow Stone, and Bighome rivers on the heads of the Missouri, and Rache-jaune, and even to the west of the Rocky Mountains for 200 miles, where a party of them was met by Mr. Robert Steaurt of New York, in 1812, on his return from the Pacifick ocean. The different bands of this nation are very numerous, and estimated at 900 warriors, and 3500 souls. Whether the language of this nation bears any affinity to any of those west of the Rocky Mountains, I am not able to say, and therefore note it as a language peculiar to themselves; and consider the Gross-ventres, Fall, and Paunche Indians, and Sauliers, as being originally of the same nation, and having with them a common language.

### Chyennes.

This tribe wander on the heads of Chyennes and White rivers. Breckenridge observes, that they speak a language peculiar to themselves, and are of a remarkably fair complexion. It is said this is the tribe, that has been supposed to be Welch Indians, whose progenitors emigrated to this country under Madoc; and to whose work, by some, are attributed the Indian *mounds* in the western

country. It has been confidently asserted, in proof of the existence of a tribe of Welch Indians, that parts of a Welch Bible have been found among them, and that a Welchman, who visited them, conversed with them in their own language. Granting it to be a fact, which we very much doubt, that this supposed Welch tribe have parts of the Welch Bible among them, we can safely affirm, that it was not received from the adventurers under Madoc; for he left his country some centuries before there was an edition of the Welch Bible printed. That a Welchman has conversed with a tribe of Indians in the Welch language is, to say the least, extremely improbable; when we recollect the change which language undergoes in pronunciation, within half a century, among nations which have a written language, how much greater must be the diversity in pronunciation, produced between two clans of the same tribe, that have been separated for upwards of six centuries; and that, too, when the separating clan has no written language to guard it from changing its original pronunciation? But, admitting that they have retained it, is it probable, that a Welchman of the 19th century, could converse intelligibly with one of the 12th century, were it possible to produce such an one? It may be shown from history, that Madoc sailed with a colony from Wales; but that he planted them in America is an assumption without sufficient proof. It can be proved, only from the existence of such a tribe. The principal arguments to prove this fact have been considered. What weight they ought to have, to substantiate this fact, is for the reader to judge. The arguments drawn from the complexion and beard of the supposed Welch tribe, cannot weigh much, when it is considered that the same appearances are common among other tribes. One nation being more cleanly, and living in a different latitude, will, at least in part, account for fairer complexions; and the practice of eradicating the beard, is by no means universal among the American Indians. We hazard nothing in saying, that the existence of a tribe of Welch Indians in America, is ideal, and nothing but a hoax of some trader or traveller, played on the credulous.—To return from this digression.

The Chyennes, it is said, formerly resided on or near Red river of lake Winipie, and were driven from thence to where they now live, by the Sioux. Carver mentions the Schians as a band of the Sioux. Can this be the same tribe as we now call the Chyenne? This tribe with the Stactan, Kata, Nemausin and Dolame, four small tribes, which also live on the heads of Chyenne river, are estimated at 500 warriors; 2000 souls. I know not to what nation, or nations, the four bands just mentioned belong, nor what language they speak; the probability is, they belong to the Chyenne, and are only different bands of the same tribe.

### Watepahatoes.

This tribe reside on the Paducas fork of Platte river, but are not stationary. I presume they are a band of the Kyaways already mentioned, and with whom frequently they reside. If so, they speak the same language as the Utahs and Tetaus. 200 warriors; 900 souls.

### Kenenavish.

This tribe is erratic, and lives on the heads of the Yellow Stone river. I have not been able to ascertain to what tribe they have an affinity. Their numbers are estimated at 1500 warriors; 5000 souls.

### Pastanownas, or Castahanas.

This people are also erratic, and live between the sources of Padoucas fork of Platte and the Yellow Stone rivers. 400 warriors; 1500 souls.

### Snake-Indians.

This nation is divided into three principal tribes, which are again subdivided into several bands or clans. They are a peaceable and defenceless people, and are frequently killed and enslaved by their neighbours. They wander from the falls and sources of the Missouri, on the heads of the Yellow Stone, Platte, and Arkensaw to Red river and New Mexico. They are supposed to be, at least, 1000 warriors; 5000 souls. Breckenridge observes, they speak a language peculiar to themselves.

*INDIANS BETWEEN THE ARKENSAW AND MISSOURI RIVERS.*

| Tribes. | Warriors. | Souls. | Tribes. | Warriors. | Souls. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Different tribes from east of Missisippi. | 700 | 3000 | Awahawas | 50 | 300 |
| Ossage | 1252 | 4019 | Gross-ventres | 600 | 2500 |
| Kansas | 465 | 1565 | Crow | 900 | 3500 |
| Ottoos | 150 | 500 | Chyennes | 500 | 2000 |
| Missouris | 50 | 300 | Watepahatoes | 200 | 900 |
| Mahas | 250 | 800 | Kenenavish | 1500 | 5000 |
| Pawnee | 1485 | 4605 | Pastanownas | 400 | 1500 |
| Aricaries | 250 | 800 | Snake | 1000 | 5000 |
| Poncas | 50 | 300 | Total | 10152 | 37839 |
| Mandans | 350 | 1250 | | | |

*TRIBES NORTH OF THE MISSOURI AND WEST OF THE MISSISIPPI.*

### Joways.

This tribe reside in two villages, one on the Joway, the other on the Des Moyens river. They were originally a part of the Missouri tribe, from whom they separated, and have since conquered them, and now claim their country by right of conquest. They speak the Ossage language. They, the Sauks and Reynards, have sold all their right to the land east of the Missisippi, between the Jafflone and Joway rivers, as far as the Missouri. Warriors 300; souls 1400.

### Sioux, or Nauduwassies.

This is a numerous, warlike, and brave people. Their language bears no affinity to any of the neighbouring nations, and is very guttural. In this, perhaps, it differs from the language of most Indians, many of which are highly sonorous, sweet, and lofty. Barton thinks this nation is a branch of the Wyandot. This is not probable; for the Wyandot itself is a branch of the Huron, which was originally a part of the Iroquois; as is evident

* These are composed of the Shawnoes, Wyandots, Delawares, Cherokees and Chickesaws.

from the similarity between their languages. This nation is divided into several tribes; these again subdivided into different clans. The subdivisions I shall not particularly note. The principal tribes are, 1. Minoway-Kantong, or Gens De Lai. 2. Washpetong, or Gens De Fieulles. 3. Saussetons. 4. Yanktons. 5. Titons. 6. Washpecoate. 7. Assinboin.

### Minoway-Kautong

Reside on the Missisippi, from the Prairie De Chiers to Prairie De Francois, 35 miles up the St. Peter's. They are reported the bravest of all the Sioux tribes; and are the only one that attend to agriculture, and that in a very small degree. Their country is well timbered and watered. Men 305; souls 2105.—Pike.

### Washpetong

Reside on the N. W. side of the St. Peter's, to the mouth of Chippeway river.—Breckenridge. At Prairie Des Francois, near the Roache Blanche, on the St. Peter's.—Pike. Their numbers are estimated, by Pike, at 1060.

### Saussetons

Reside on the upper parts of Red river, of lake Winipie and the St. Peter's, and rove on the Missisippi and Corbeau rivers, which is the boundary between them and the Chippeways. They usually meet the Titons and Yanktons in May, with whom they trade. Men 360; souls 2160.—Pike.

### Yanktons

Have a fixed habitation. They are divided into the Yanktons of the north and the south. Those of the north wander on the heads of St. Peter's and Red river of lake Winipie, and trade on the Missisippi at St. Peter's. Those of the south are settled from Montague's Priarie to the rivers Des Moyen and Missouri, and trade at Jacque river. The country over which they wander, in parts of it is pleasant, well timbered and watered. Warriors 900; souls 4300.—Pike.

### Titons

Reside on both sides of the Missouri. On the west side, from near Chyenne river to the Mandan villages, and on the N. E. from the Mahas villages to near the Gross-ventres, or Knife river. They are not permanently fixed; and like the wandering Arab, their hands are against every man. They are the pirates and marauders of the Missouri. They, as also the Yanktons, have the finest horses, and travel with incredible celerity, being in one place to day, and 500 miles distant ten days hence. Warriors 2000; souls 11600.—Pike.

### Washpecoate

Rove on the S. W. of the St. Peter's, from a place called *Hard Wood* to the Yellow Medicine river, and hunt on the heads of the Des Moyen. This was formerly a part of the Washpotang tribe, and is composed of the outcasts of all the other tribes. Men 900; souls 4050.—Pike.

These six tribes of the Sioux claim the lands west of the Missisippi, beginning at the Joway river above the Prairie Des Chien to the St. Peter's; thence on both sides of the Missisippi to Corbeau, or Crow-wing river, up the same, including its waters, to the head of Red river; thence westerly, bearing south, so as to intersect the Missouri, at or near the Mandan villages. Here their line crosses the Missouri, so as to include the lower parts of the Chyenne river, the whole of the waters of the White and Teton rivers, and the lower parts of the Quicure; from thence easterly, bearing north, to the place of beginning. These tribes have waged a war of extermination with the Chippeways from time immemorial, and almost destroyed many of the tribes on the Missouri, and east of the Missisippi. They have also waged a long war with the Assinboin, one of the tribes that separated itself from the nation. The numbers of these bands are, according to Pike, 3835 warriors; 21675 souls.

—— to an Officer, 2590 7610

—— Breckenridge, 2000 6000

Probably 2500 warriors, 10000 souls.

### Assinboin

Are a revolted band of the Sioux, with whom they have long been at war. Like the parent stock, they are divided into different bands, and reside in different parts.

### The Osegah

Reside about the mouth of little Missouri, and on the Assinboin, at the mouth of Lapelle river. Warriors 25 ;* souls 850.

[* Probably 250. Edit.]

### Manitopa

Live on the Saskatshawine, or Mouse river. Warriors 200 ; souls 750.

### Mahtopanats

Wander on the Missouri, above White-earth river, and on the heads of Mouse, or Assinboin river. Warriors 450 ; souls 1600. The whole number of Assinboins ; 900 warriors ; 3000 souls.

### Black Feet.

This nation is erratic, and wander on the heads of the Saskatshawine and Missouri rivers, and on the Moria river, and along the Rocky ridge, or mountains. They are divided into different tribes ; Black feet, Blood-Indians, Picaneaux, or Catanoneaux, &c. all of which, says M'Kenzie, are a distinct people, and speak a language of their own, and which has no affinity to any language which he has heard. This nation is very hostile to the hunters and traders that attempt to ascend the Missouri, and pass to the Pacifick. Warriors 2500 ; souls 8000.

### Chippewyan.

This is a very large nation, who consider the country between the parallels of latitude 60° and 65° north, and longitude 100° and 110° west, as belonging to them. They speak a very copious language, which is very difficult to acquire, and which is spoken with a slight variation of dialect by all the tribes living between Hudson's bay and Rocky mountains, and north of the Missisippi and the ridge which divides the waters running north from those which enter lake Winipie ; with the exception of the

Esquimaux who inhabit the north coast. This fact was ascertained by Mr. A. M'Kenzie, in his voyages of 1789 and 1793, who found that the Rocky Mountain Indians; Sarsees, Slave, Beaver, Dog-rib, Hare, Strong-bow, Mountain, Quarrellers, and Knife Indians; in short, all those tribes that reside on M'Kenzie's, and Peace rivers, and on the adjacent waters, spoke dialects of the Chippewyan tongue; and he also found, that the Indians on Columbia river, as low down as latitude 52°, 24′ north, and from thence to the Pacifick, spoke dialects of the same language. What the numbers are of these tribes, east of the Rocky mountains, is difficult to determine. When, however, we consider the natural situation of the country, and its very high latitude, we are ready to draw the conclusion, that the numbers are small. All the Chippewyans, that visit the different establishments of the N. W. company, do not exceed 800 men, nor probably 2500 souls. The other tribes mentioned, we are led to conclude from M'Kenzie's account, are very small; probably none of them exceed 500 souls; all of which cannot exceed 1200 men, 5000 souls; and I am not certain that many of these small tribes are not included in M'Kenzie's estimate of the Chippewyans. The whole numbers of these tribes east of the Rocky mountains, which speak the Chippewyan language, are, 2000 warriors; 7500 souls.

### Esquimaux.

This nation, it would appear, from similarity of language, manners, and customs, was originally from Greenland. It is the opinion of the Moravians that visit them, that there is no more difference between their language and that of Greenland, than between high and low Dutch. This people are found, with certainty, from the coast of Labrador, west to M'Kenzie's river; and have been found as far north as 72°, by Mr. Hearne, in 1772. Captain Cook further reports, that he found the same people on the islands and coast, of North America, opposite Kamskatka and at Norton's sound, Ooneleshka, at Prince William's sound. See Rees' Cyclopedia, *Esquimaux*.

M'Kenzie is of opinion, that the people inhabiting the coast of the Pacifick differ, both from the Chippewyans, and Esquimaux. It is not to be supposed, that a country, covered with snow for more than half the year, and whose summers do not exceed six or eight weeks, can be very populous. What the numbers of this nation are, cannot be precisely ascertained. They have been estimated at 1623 souls: the whole number, from Labrador to M'Kenzie's river, we should not suppose could exceed 5000 souls, 1200 warriors. The Moravians have a missionary establishment on the coast of Labrador, at Nain.

### Mountaineers.

This people live on the interior of Labrador, and are enemies to the Esquimaux. I know not what language they speak, unless it is a dialect of the Algonquine. Their numbers are small; perhaps 300 men, 1500 souls.

*INDIANS WEST OF THE MISSISIPPI, AND NORTH OF THE MISSOURI AND LAKES.*

* *In the United States and Louisiana.*

| Tribes. | Warriors. | Souls. | Tribes. | Warriors. | Souls. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Joways | 300 | 1400 | Fall Indians | 500 | 2000 |
| Sioux | 2500 | 10000 | Paunche | 800 | 2500 |
| | | | Total | 4100 | 15900 |

*In the British dominions.*

| Tribes. | Warriors. | Souls. | Tribes. | Warriors. | Souls. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mohawks | 300 | 1000 | Knistenaux | 1500 | 5000 |
| Iroquois Chippeways | 500 | 2000 | Assinboin | 900 | 3000 |
| | | | Black-Feet | 2500 | 8000 |
| Hurons | 250 | 800 | Chippewyans & tribes of the same language | 2000 | 7500 |
| Leach-lake-Chippeways | 150 | 1100 | | | |
| Musconoges | 100 | 350 | Esquimaux | 1200 | 5000 |
| Algonquines of Rainy lake | 100 | 300 | Mountaineers | 300 | 1500 |
| | | | Total | 9800 | 35550 |

* I suppose, in this table, the boundary line between the United States and the British provinces to run on the ridge, which divides the waters running into the Missisippi and Missouri from those that enter lake Winipie and the Saskatshawine river.

I shall probably hereafter complete something more full on the Indian government, character, manners, education, religion, and morals. This I had not the leisure to do at present, and must therefore defer it for a future communication, if it shall be thought desirable by your reverend body. I may possible add to this some hints concerning a plan for conducting Indian missions. I trust that this communication, imperfect as it is, will be in some measure useful and satisfactory to your Society. With my best wishes for its prosperity and usefulness, receive the assurance of the esteem and respect of your friend and servant,

JOHN F. SCHERMERHORN.

Rev. ABIEL HOLMES, D. D.
*Sec. Soc. Prop. Gospel, &c.*

[NOTE. In the MS. copy of the preceding REPORT the same Indian names are diversely written, but corrections could not be obtained from the author; a circumstance the more to be regretted, as he had not prepared the MS. for publication. EDIT.]

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## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL AMONG THE INDIANS AND OTHERS IN NORTH AMERICA.

THE origin of this Society may be traced back to the year 1762, when a number of gentlemen associated for the purpose of establishing a Society for the promotion of christian knowledge. In prosecution of this benevolent and pious design, they collected a considerable fund, and obtained from the colonial government an act of incorporation. When this act was sent to England for allowance, the archbishop of Canterbury obtaining a negative from the king, it fell, of course, and nothing more was heard concerning it until after the war, which established American independence. In 1787, a number of gentlemen in Boston and the vicinity received a commission from the Society in Scotland for promoting christian knowledge, to superintend the funds of the Society, which were devoted to the purpose of christianizing the Indians of America. The Board of Commissioners, excited by

the exemplary zeal of their European brethren, revived the plan, which had before proved abortive; and, forming themselves into a Society similar to that in Scotland, were incorporated in November, 1787, by the name of "The Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America."*

On the recommendation of the legislature, a brief was issued by governour Hancock, in 1788, for a collection in all the religious societies of the State. The petition for this brief alleges, "that one design of our venerable fathers, in emigrating to this land, was professedly to extend the knowledge of our glorious Redeemer among the savage natives; that this design was expressed and enjoined under both the charters, granted by the parent state to this colony; and is, in the opinion of the Society, necessary and suitable at all times to be pursued by a people who profess christianity." The amount of the collection was 1561 dollars; and this original fund was greatly increased by private subscriptions among the members of the Society and other pious and benevolent persons. Among the first and most generous contributors were, the Hon. John Alford, Esq. James Bowdoin Esq. afterward governour of the commonwealth, Moses Gill, Esq. afterward lieutenant governour, William Hyslop, Esq. Hon. Samuel Dexter, Esq. Hon. Thomas Russell, Esq. Hon. Jonathan Mason, Hon. William Phillips, and Ebenezer Storer, Esq. At later periods, the Rev. Eliakim Wyllys and others have made additional donations. The Hon. John Alford, Esq. of Charlestown, in his last will, devised a large sum to be devoted to the purpose of spread-

* The act of incorporation, after authorizing the Society "to take and receive subscriptions of charitably disposed persons, and any personal estate in succession," provides, that "all donations to the Society, either by subscription, legacy, or otherwise, excepting such as may be differently appropriated by the donors, shall make a part or be put into the capital stock of the Society, which shall be put out on interest, on good security, or otherwise improved to the best advantage, and the incomes or profits applied to the purposes of propagating the gospel among the said Indians, in such manner as they shall judge most conducive to answer the design of their institution, and also among other people, who, through poverty or other circumstances, are destitute of the means of religious instruction: and the said Society is hereby empowered to give such instructions, orders and encouragements to their officers, and those they shall employ, as they shall judge necessary; and the persons employed as teachers in any capacity, shall be men of the Protestant religion, of reputed piety, loyalty, prudence, knowledge, and literature, and of other christian and necessary qualifications, suited to their respective stations.

ing the knowledge of the gospel among the heathen; and, on the incorporation of this Society, his executor, Richard Cary, Esq. transferred to it ten thousand six hundred and seventy five dollars. The Society, for several years, received generous annual grants from the legislature, and its funds have been greatly augmented by the frequent and liberal donations of its president, the present lieutenant governour of the commonwealth.

In the application of the portion of the funds devoted to the Indians, the Society have consulted the best interests of a people, whose character and habits are extremely adverse to moral and religious improvement. They assisted in the support of Rev. Mr. Mayhew at Martha's Vineyard, of Rev. Mr. Hawley at Marshpee, and of Rev. Mr. Sergeant at New Stockbridge; all of them missionaries to the Indians. The corporation of Harvard College, having funds for Indian purposes, had united with the Society in supporting these several missionaries until 1809, when, by agreement, the entire charge of the Marshpee and Vineyard Indians was assumed by the corporation; and the Society engaged to pay the same sum, that had usually been paid by the corporation, towards the support of the permanent missionary at New Stockbridge. For some years the Society employed a missionary to the relicks of the Narraganset Indians. In 1812, a school house was erected for them at Charlestown, (R. I.) the place of their residence, at the expense of the Society; and a school master has since been employed there with encouraging success. The number of scholars has been very variable; the largest number was 31. In 1812, the whole number of Indians at Charlestown, considered as of the Narraganset nation, was about 140 or 150. On Martha's Vineyard the Society have supported a number of small schools for Indian children, and have furnished to the schools at Marshpee, Oneida, and New Stockbridge, books, paper, and other necessaries. They have supplied the inhabitants of New Stockbridge with many implements of husbandry, such as ploughs, chains, and hoes; assisted them in building school houses, and a

house for their minister; defrayed the expense of printing the Assembly's Catechism, which had been translated into the language of these Indians; and furnished them with a competent supply of practical religious books.

The attempts of the Society have hitherto been confined to those tribes interspersed among the white inhabitants, or living in their neighbourhood; but it is their wish, as their means and opportunity will admit, gradually to disseminate christian knowledge among more distant tribes.

The notices given of those tribes in the preceding REPORT will not fail to receive their attention. Their labours may now be more intelligently directed, and especially should they receive, what the writer of the Report has encouraged them to expect, "a view of the religious notions, the state of morals, the peculiar customs and manners, and government of the Indians, together with his views of the best manner of conducting missions among them." A state of peace, however, is essential to the successful prosecution of any extensive design for their benefit.

Beside an attention to the natives, the Society has employed missionaries, distributed books, and assisted schools, among the white inhabitants in the frontier settlements, and in other parts of the country, as exigencies have required. The district of Maine has been the principal object of these charities; but they have occasionally been directed to various destitute regions in New England and parts adjacent.

Five missionaries are now employed in the district of Maine; and several others receive an allowance, as ministers, or teachers of youth. The missionaries have generally been ordained ministers. Upwards of 33000 books and tracts have been distributed by the Society.

*Presidents of the Society.*

Hon. OLIVER WENDELL, from 1787 to 1793.
Hon. THOMAS RUSSELL, from 1793 to 1796.
His Honour MOSES GILL, from 1796 to 1800.
His Ex. JAMES SULLIVAN, from 1800 to 1806.
His Honour WILLIAM PHILLIPS, since 1806.

HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND. BY EDWARD JOHNSON.

[This Historical Tract has become exceedingly rare. Very few copies of it are to be found in our country. From one procured in England, after considerable inquiry, by Rev. T. M. Harris, D. D. the publishing committee for this volume are enabled to commence the republication. In the very valuable index to the first series of these Collections, the learned and accurate complier has styled the author "*minister* of Woburn." In Prince's list of documents, he is styled Capt. Johnson." (N. E. Chronol. II. No. 1. Explanat. of references.) In the preface to vol. 1. p. 2, he says, "In a history of New England, from 1628 to 1651, printed in 4to. London, 1654, I found many particulars of the beginning of our several churches, towns, and colonies, which appear in no other writer. The running title is "Wonder-working Providence," &c. and in the genuine title page no author is named. Some of the books were faced with a false title page, wherein the work is wrongly assigned to Sir F. Georges: but the true author was Mr. *Johnson of Woburn in New England, as the late Judge Sewall assured me, as of a thing familiarly known among the fathers of the Massachusetts colony." The late Rev. Dr. John Eliot says, "The book contains much valuable information of the early settlement of Massachusetts, and is very particular in narrating the organization of the militia, in 1644." See N. E. Biog. p. 217, note. Edit.]

A HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND,

*From the English planting in the Yeere* 1628, *untill the Yeere* 1652. *Declaring the form of their government, civil, military, and ecclesiastique. Their wars with the Indians, their troubles with the Gortonists, and other Heretiques. Their manner of gathering of Churches, the commodities of the Country, and description of the principall Towns and Havens, with the great encouragements to increase Trade betwixt them and Old England. With the names of all their Governours, Magistrates, and eminent Ministers.*

Psalm 107. 24. The righteous shall see it, and rejoice, and all iniquity shall stop her mouth.

Psal. 111. 2. The works of the Lord are great, and ought to be sought out of all that have pleasure in them.

London, Printed for Nath: Brooke at the Angel in Cornhill. 1654.

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TO THE READER.

*Good Reader*,

AS large Gates to small Edifices, so are long Prefaces to little Bookes; therefore I will briefly informe

* Edward.—Allen's Biog. Dict.

thee that here thou shalt find the time *when*, the manner *how*, the cause *why*, and the great successe *which* it hath pleased the Lord to give, to this handful of his praysing Saints in N. Engl. and it will be clearly demonstrated, if thou compare them, with any other people, who have left their Countryes, as the Gothes, Vandals, &c. to possesse a fatter, as Italy, or warmer, as Spaine, &c. But these forsooke a fruitful Land, stately Buildings, goodly Gardens, Orchards, yea, deare Friends, and neere relations, to goe to a desart Wildernesse, thousands of leagues by Sea, both turbulent and dangerous; also many have travelled to see famous Cities, strong Fortifications, &c. or in hope to enjoy a settled habitation, where riches are attained with ease. But here the onely encouragements were the laborious breaking up of bushy ground, with the continued toyl of erecting houses, for themselves and cattell, in this howling desart; all which they underwent with much cheerfulnesse, that they might enjoy Christ and his Ordinances in their primitive purity.

And now, you, my honoured Countrey-men, who have with indefatigable paines, and expence of a great part of your Estates, furthered this blessed work: Behold how the Lord of Hosts hath carried it on in despight of all opposition from his and their enemies, in planting of his Churches in this New World, with the excellent frame of their Government, both civil and military, already established; but why stop I you at the Threshhold: Go in, and seriously consider this Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour. In the perusing of which, if thou receivest profit or delight, and God may have glory thereby, he hath attained the end that he aimed at, and full satisfaction for all his paynes who heartily wishes thee all the good both of this life, and a better life, in him who is a Christians all in all.

T. H.

## WONDER-WORKING PROVIDENCE OF SIONS SAVIOUR.

*Being a Relation of the firste planting in New England, in the Yeere* 1628.

### CHAPTER I.—The sad Condition of England, when this People removed.

When England began to decline in Religion, like luke-warme Laodicea, and instead of purging out Popery, a farther compliance was sought not onely in vaine Idolatrous Ceremonies, but also in prophaning the Sabbath, and by Proclamation throughout their Parish churches, exasperating lewd and prophane persons to celebrate a Sabbath like the Heathen to Venus, Bacchus and Ceres; in so much that the multitude of irreligious, lascivious and popish affected persons spread the whole land like Grashoppers, in this very time Christ the glorious King of his Churches, raises an Army out of our English Nation, for freeing his people from their long servitude under usurping Prelacy; and because every corner of England was filled with the fury of malignant adversaries, Christ creates a New England to muster up the first of his Forces in; Whose low condition, little number, and remotenesse of place made these adversaries triumph, despising this day of small things, but in this hight of their pride the Lord Christ brought sudden, and unexpected destruction upon them. Thus have you a touch of the time when this worke began.

Christ Jesus intending to manifest his Kingly Office toward his Churches more fully than ever yet the Sons of men saw, even to the uniting of Jew and Gentile Churches in one Faith, begins with our English Nation (whose former Reformation being vere imperfect) doth now resolve to cast down their false foundation of Prelacy, even in the hight of their domineering dignity. And therefore in the yeere 1628, he stirres up his servants as the Heralds of a King to make this Proclamation for Voluntiers, as followeth.

Oh yes! oh yes! oh yes! All you the people of Christ that are here Oppressed, Imprisoned and scurrilously derided, gather yourselves together, your Wives and little

ones, and answer to your severall Names as you shall be shipped for his service in the Westerne World, and more especially for planting the united Collonies of New England; Where you are to attend the service of the King of Kings, upon the divulging of this Proclamation by his Herralds at Armes. Many (although otherwise willing for this service) began to object as followeth:

Can it possible be the mind of Christ, (who formerly inabled so many souldiers of his to keepe their station unto the death here) that now so many brave souldiers disciplined by Christ himselfe the Captaine of our salvation, should turne their backs to the disheartening of their Fellow Souldiers, and losse of further opportunity in gaining a greater number of Subjects to Christs kingdome?

Notwithstanding this Objection, It was further proclaimed as followeth: What Creature, wilt not know that Christ thy King crusheth with a rod of Iron, the Pompe and Pride of man, and must he like man cast and contrive to take his enemies at advantage? No, of purpose hee causeth such instruments to retreat as hee hath made strong for himself: that so his adversaries glorying in the pride of their power, insulting over the little remnant remaining, Christ causeth them to be cast downe suddenly forever, and wee find in stories reported, Earths Princes have passed their Armies at need over Seas and deepe Torrents. Could Cæsar so suddenly fetch over fresh forces from Europe to Asia, Pompy to foyle? How much more shall Christ who createth all power, call over this 900 league Ocean at his pleasure, such instruments as he thinks meete to make use of in this place, from whence you are now to depart, but further that you may not delay the Voyage intended, for your full satisfaction, know this is the place where the Lord will create a new Heaven, and a new Earth in, new Churches, and a new Commonwealth together; Wherefore,

### CHAP. II.—The Commission of the People of Christ shipped for New England, and first of their gathering into Churches.

ATTEND to your Commission all you that are or shall hereafter be shipped for this service, yee are with all pos-

sible speed to imbarque your selves, and as for all such Worthies who are hunted after as David was by Saul and his Courtiers, you may change your habit and ship you with what secrecy you can, carrying all things most needfull for the voyage and service you are to be employed in after your landing. But as soone as you shall be exposed to danger of tempestuous Seas, you shall forthwith shew whose servants you are by calling on the name of your God, sometimes by extraordinary seeking his pleasing face in times of deepe distresse, and publishing your Masters will, and pleasure to all that Voyage with you, and that is his minde to have purity in Religion preferred above all dignity in the world; your Christ hath commanded the Seas they shall not swallow you, nor Pyrates imprison your persons, or possess your goods. At your landing see you observe the Rule of his Word, for neither larger nor stricter commission can hee give by any, and therefore at first filling the Land whither you are sent, with diligence, search out the mind of God both in planting and continuing Church and civill Government, but be sure they be distinct, yet agreeing and helping the one to the other; Let the matter and forme of your Churches be such as were in the Primitive Times (before Antichrists Kingdome prevailed) plainly poynted out by Christ and his Apostles, in most of their Epistles to be neither Nationall nor Provinciall, but gathered together in Covenant of such a number as might ordinarily meete together in one place, and built of such living stones as outwardly appeare Saints by calling. You are also to ordaine Elders in every Church, make you use of such as Christ hath indued with the best gifts for that end, their call to Office shall be mediate from you, but their authority and commission shall be immediate from Christ revealed in his word; which, if you shall slight, despise or contemne, hee will soone frustrate your call by taking the most able among you to honour with an everlasting Crown; whom you neglected to honour on Earth double as their due, or he will carry them remote from you to more infant Churches. You are not to put them upon anxious Cares for their daily Bread, for assuredly (although it may now seeme strange) you shall be fed in

this Wildernesse, whither you are to goe, with the flower of Wheate and Wine shall be plentifull among you (but be sure you abuse it not) these Doctrines delivered from the Wold of God imbrace, and let not Satan delude you by perswading their learned skill is unnecessary, soone then will the Word of God be slighted as translated by such, and you shall be left wildred with strange revelations of every phantastick brain; which to prevent here are to be shipped among you many both Godly, Juditious and Learned, who

CHAP. III. — Of the demeanor of their Church Officers.

BEING called to Office are in all humility to feed the flock of Christ, and not for lucre to admit mostly of such sheepe, whose faire fleeces allure much: nor yet for filling the flocks to crowd in infectious sheepe, or rather wolves in sheepes cloathing, assuredly it will prove bitternesse in the end: neither shall you for feare your allowance will fall short, hinder the increase of Churches, that so your fellow brethren indued with like gifts fall short of all; But above all beware of any love self-conceited Opinion, stopping your ears from hearing the Counsell of an Orthodox Synod, but by daily communication one with another impart Christs minde each to other, that you may all speake one and the same things; heale not lightly the wounds that Wolves make, lest from their festering Teeth a Gangrin grow, and further for compleating the Churches of Christ as well in matters as in Doctrine, there are ancient experienced godly Christians shipped among you (but be sure you make choice of such, for feare they be despised) and let them not be led by favour or affection (as naturally men are) to Administer in your Office partially, for unworthy the name of a Ruling Elder is hee, who loses his Lyon-like courage, when the sound and wholesome Doctrines delivered by Pastor or Teacher are spoken against by any; unseemely behaviour and sleepy heareing by private exhortation prevent, (if possible) lest public example in open professors stumble some and hinder the operation of his word, especially in the hearts of those who have bin long time led away with the inventions of man in the worship of

God. Be sure you contradict not, but confirme with trienall love the Doctrines of Christ, delivered by your Teaching Elders, which will be a great means to make it prevaile, for a three-fold cord is not easily broken, trust not to your own gifts for preventing error, but use all helpes that Christ may bless his own meanes, cast not away as incorrigible such as at first receive not the word in all points, but wait with patience if at any time the Lord will be pleased to give them a heart to turn unto him. Beware of a proud censorious spirit, and should Christ be pleased to place in his building more pollished stones than thy selfe, make it matter of rejoycing and not of envy. And further, because the Preaching of the word is to be continued with all diligence, here are likewise imbarked with you faithful servants of Christ to attend on the Tables of the Churches, plaine-dealing men, yea, indued with wisdome from above, by which they are inabled to manage and improve the Churches Treasury, not greedily given to hoord up for themselves, but by their own example leading others to liberality, and hospitality, having the earth in low esteeme, and Faith in exercise when Cattell and Corne fayle, not given to magnifie their own gifts, but boldly maintayning such sound truths as their Teaching Elders have cleared up from the word of God. And,

CHAP. IV.—How the People in Christs Churches are to behave themselves.

Now you his People, who are pickt out by his, provide to passe this Westerne Ocean for this honourable service, beware you call not weake ones to Office in this honorable Army, nor Novices, lest they be lifted up with pride. You see how full you are furnished for the worke, give no eare to any Braggadociaes, who to extoll themselves will weaken the hands of those whom Christ hath made strong for himselfe. Yea, such will be the phantastical madnesse of some (if you take not heed) that silly women, laden with diverse lusts, will be had in higher esteeme with them, then those honoured of Christ, indued with power and authority from him to Preach; Abuse not the free and full liberty Christ hath given you in making

choyce of your own Officers, and consent in admitting into his Churches, and casting out such Members as walke disorderly ; you are to walke in all humility, lest in injoyment of such freedoms as you formerly have not exercised, you exceede the bounds of modesty, and instead of having your moderation knowne to all, your imbecility, and selfe-exaltation bee discovered by many, in admission of others into Church society. Remember your selves were once Aliens from the Covenant of Grace, and in Excommunication, consider how your selves have been also tempted : in sincerity and singlenesse of heart, let your words be few, do nothing be had in high esteeme among men ; And think it no imputation of a weake discerning to be followers of those are set over you in the Lord as they follow Christ ; Let your profession outstrip your confession, for seeing you are to be set as lights upon a Hill more obvious than the highest mountaine in the World, keepe close to Christ that you may shine full of his glory, who imployes you, and grub not continually in the Earth, like blind Moles, but by your amiable Conversation seeke the winning of many to your Masters service. Beware of a proud censorious spirit, make it no part of your Christian communication to be in continual Discourse of others faults ; Let all things be done in love, and looke not for more smoothnesse in stones as yet unplaced in Christs building then is in thy selfe, who hast been long layd therein : wait with patience and cast not off as Reprobates such as cannot presently joyne with you in every poynt of Discipline, and yet hold fast to sound and wholesome Doctrine, if you will be a people to his prayse, who hath called you, seeke the turning of many to Righteousnesse, purge out all the sowre Leven of unsound Doctrine, for the minde of Christ is to build up his Churches, and breake them down no more ; And therefore be sure there be none to hurt or destroy in all his holy Mountaine, and as he hath pressed you for his service, that by passing through the Flouds of Persecution you should be set at liberty, and have power put into your hands. Then let none wrest it from you under pretence of liberty of Conscience, men of perverse judgments will draw Disciples after them,

but let your consciences be pure, and Christs Churches free from all Doctrines that deceive. And all you, who are or shall be shipped for this worke, thinke it not enough that you injoy the truth, but you must hate every false way and know you are called to be faithful Souldiers of Christ, not onely to assist in building up his Churches, but also in pulling downe the Kingdome of Antichrist, then sure you are not set up for tollerating times, nor shall any of you be content with this that you are set at liberty, but take up your Armes, and march manfully on till all opposers of Christs Kingly power be abolished; and as for you who are called to sound forth his silver Trumpets, blow lowd and shrill, to this chiefest treble tune: For the Armies of the great Jehovah are at hand. See you not his Enemies stretched out on tiptoe, proudly daring on their thresholds, a certain signe of their sudden overthrow; be not danted at your small number, for every common Souldier in Christs Campe shall be as David, who slew the great Goliah, and his Davids shall be as the Angels of the Lord, who slew 185000 in the Assyrian Army.

Finally, all you who are now sent forth by Christ your Jehovah to enter upon a Blessed Reformation, if ever you will have the honours to be provokers of his ancient People Israel (who are again suddenly to be honoured by him in believing) kindle the fire of jealousy in their brests by your Holy, Heavenly and humble walking, have you not the most blessedest opportunity put into your hands that ever people had? then

### CHAP. V. — What Civill Government the People of Christ ought to set up, and submit unto in New England.

FAYLE not in prosecution of the Worke, for your Lord Christ hath furnished you with able Pilots, to steere the Helme in a godly, peaceable, Civill Government also, then see you make choice of such as are sound both in Profession and Confession, men fearing God and hating bribes; whose Commission is not onely limitted with the commands of the second Table, but they are to looke to the Rules of the first also, and let them be sure to put

on Joshuas resolution, and courage, never to make League with any of these seven Sectaries.

First, the Gortonists, who deny the Humanity of Christ, and most blaphemously and proudly professe themselves to be personally Christ.

Secondly, the Papist, who with (almost) equal blasphemy and pride prefer their own Merits and Workes of Supererogation as equal with Christs unvaluable Death, and Sufferings.

Thirdly, the Familist, who depend upon rare Revelations, and forsake the sure revealed Word of Christ.

Fourthly, Seekers, who deny the Churches and Ordinances of Christ.

Fifthly, Antinomians, who deny the Morrall Law to be the Rule of Christ.

Sixthly, Anabaptists, who deny Civill Government to be proved of Christ.

Seventhly, The Prelacy, who will have their own Injunctions submitted unto in the Churches of Christ. These and the like your Civil Censors shall reach unto that the people of, and under your Government, may live a quiet and peaceable life in all godlinesse and honesty, and to the end that you may provoke Kings, Princes, and all that are in authority to cast downe their Crownes at the Feet of Christ, and take them up againe at his command to serve under his Standard as nursing Fathers, and nursing Mothers to the Churches and people of Christ; when your feete are once safely set on the shores of America, you shall set up and establish civill Government, and pray for the prosperity thereof, as you love the peace of his Churches, who hath called you to this service, he hath for that end shipped among you, some learned in the Law of God, and practised in rules of good reason or common Lawes proper to our English nation. Be sure you make choyce of the right, that all people, Nations and Languages, who are soonly to submit to Christs kingdome, may be followers of you herein, as you follow the Rule of Christ; your Magistrates shall not put open the Gates for all sorts. But know, they are Eyes of Restraint set up for Walles and Bulworks, to surround the Sion of God; Oh for Jerusalem her peace,

see that you mind it altogether, you know right well that the churches of Christ have not thrived under the tolerating Government of Holland, from whence the Lord hath translated one Church already to the place whither you are now to goe; and further it is well known, loose liberty cannot indure to looke Majesticall authority in the face. And also you shall finde erronious persons will contend with authority for upholding truth irrationally, denying it any power to condemne deceivable Doctrines, and that upon this very ground, because Tyranny hath inforced error heretofore; be not borne downe with a multitude, neither let any flatter for preferment, which to prevent, honour shall be very chargeable among you; yet let not any deny to beare the burden and cumber of governing this people of Christ; for assuredly, although their recompense fall short from man, it shall not be forgotten with the Lord. Lastly,

The Church of Christ at Plimoth was planted in New England 8 Yeares before any others.

CHAP. VI. — How the People of Christ ought to behave themselves in War-like Discipline.

You shall with all diligence provide against the Malignant adversaries of the truth, for assure your selves the time is at hand wherein Antichrist will muster up all his Forces, and make war with the people of God; but it shall be to his utter overthrow. See then you store your selves with all sorts of weapons for war, furbrish up your Swords, Rapiers, and all other piercing weapons. As for great Artillery, seeing present meanes falls short, waite on the Lord Christ, and hee will stir up friends to provide for you: and in the meane time spare not to lay out your coyne for Powder, Bullets, Match, Armes of all sorts, and all kinde of Instruments for War: and although it may now seeme a thing incredible, you shall see in that Wildernesse, whither you are going, Troopes of stout horsemen marshalled, and therefore fayle not to ship lusty Mares along with you, and see that with all diligence you incourage every Souldier-like Spirit among you, for the Lord Christ intends to atchieve greater matters by this little handfull then the

Doctor Wilson gave 1000*l.* to New England, with which they stored them with great Guns.

World is aware of; wherefore you shall seeke and set up men of valour to lead and direct every Souldier among you, and with all diligence to instruct them from time to time.

Feare not the misse of men to fill your Townes, and compleat your companies; for although at first struglings for truths advance there may but a small number appeare of sound judgement: yet shall you not prefer any to Office, whose zeal is not strong for the truth, for now the minde of Christ is to put out the name of Ammaleck from under Heaven (I meane such as have persecuted the Churches and People of Christ in their low condition) and assuredly unsounde Saules will spare such as should not be saved from destruction. Then be strong and of a good courage (all you that are to fight the Lords Battaile) that your Faith faile not at sight of the great Armies of Gog and Magog: and as for you, who shall be preferred to highest places in his New England Regiments, cause your Captaine and other inferior Officers to be diligent in their severall places, that you may lende helpe to your Countreymen, that ere long be will see a necessity of contending for the truth, as well as your selves in choyce of Military Officers; Let faithfulnesse to the cause in hand, courage, activity and skill have the prehemency of honours; for although it may seem a meane thinge to be a New England Souldier, yet some of you shall have the battering and beating down, scaling, winning and wasting the over-topping Towers of the Hierarchy; Lieutenants, Ensigne and Serjeants, exceed not your places, till Experience, Skill and true Valour promote you to higher honour, to which you shall be daily aspiring. As the worthy incouragement of a Souldiers labour, let Military discipline be had in high esteeme among you. Gentlemen, Corporalls and Fellow-Souldiers, keepe your weapons in a continuall readinesse, seeing you are called to fight the Battails of your Lord Christ; who must raigne till hee hath put all his enemies under his Feet, his glorious Victories over Antichrist are at hand, never yet did any Souldier rejoice in dividing the spoyle after Victory, as all the Souldiers of Christ shall, to see his judgement executed upon the great Whore, and withall

the Lambs bride prepared for him, who comes Skipping over & trampling down the great Mountaines of the Earth, whose universall Government will then appeare glorious, when not onely the Assyrian, Babilonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman Monarchies shall subject themselves unto him, but also all other new upstart Kingdomes, Dukedomes, or what else can be named, shall fall before him; Not that he shall come personally to Reigne upon Earth (as some vainly imagine) but his powerfull Presence and Glorious brightnesse of his Gospell both to Jew and Gentile, shall not onely spiritually cause the Churches of Christ to grow beyond number, but also the whole civill Government of people upon Earth shall become his, so that there shall not be any to move the hand, nor *dog his tongue against his chosen, And then shall the time be of breaking Speares into Mattocks, and Swords into Sithes; and this to remaine to his last comming, which will be personally to overcome the last enemies of his Saints, even death, which hee will doe by the word of his Mouth, audibly spoken the World throughout.

Then all you, who are now, or shall hereafter be shipped for this Voyage, minde the Worke of Christ, and not some following raigne, titles of honour, others eying the best Grass-platts and best Situation for Farmes and large Accommodations, crouding out Gods people from sitting down among you. Wherefore above all beware of covetousnesse: all you that will be admitted into these select Bands of Christ Jesus, remember Achan, whereas Rams Hornes could overthrow the high and strong walles of Jericho, before his theft committed, after it the little number of the men of Ai could put the Host of the living God to flight, see then you stand upon your watch continually in the strength of Christ, for assuredly instead of casting downe the enemies of Christ, this sin will cast down you utterly, disinable you for striking one stroke in the cause of Christ; and whereas he hath purposely pickt out this people for a patterne of purity and soundnesse of Doctrine, as well as discipline, that all such may finde a refuge among you, and let not any Merchants, Inkeepers, Taverners and men of Trade in hope of gaine,

* wag?

fling open the gates so wide, as that by letting in all sorts you mar the worke of Christ intended: neither shall such labourers as hee hath pickt out to be pyoneers in this Campe of his, drink up like Spunges such meanes as hee hath sent to maintaine both Officers, and private Souldiers. Lastly, let not such as fight, set foote on Land to compose Townes for Habitations, take up large accommodations for sale, to enrich themselves with others goods, who are to follow them, but freely as you have received, so give out to others: for so soone as you shall seeke to ingrosse the Lords wast into your hands, he will ease you of your burden by making stay of any farther resort unto you, and then be sure you shall have wast Land enough.

To this Commission was added a strong motive to this work as followeth: Namely, the great enmity betweene that one truth as it is in Jesus, and all other unsound and undeceivable Doctrines, together with the persons that hold them; insomuch, that they cannot stand in one Common-wealth long together, as sixteene hundred yeares experience will testifie, the which Moses layes down as one maine reason, why he might not admit of a toleration to worship God in Egypt. And therefore all you that believe the Scriptures, which so plainly prophecy the destruction of Antichrist and all Antichristian Doctrines; Pray, pray, pray, pray continually with that valiant worthy Joshua that the Sun may stand still in *Gibeon*, and the Moone in the vally of Aijalon, for assuredly although some small battailes may be fought against the enemies of Christ, yet the great day of their finall overthrow shall not come till the bright Sonne of that one cleare truth of Christ, stand still in the Gentile Churches, that those who fight the Lords Battells may plainly discerne his enemies in all places, where they finde them, as also such as will continue fighting must have the World kept low in their eyes, as the Moon in the valley of Aijalon.

CHAP. VII. — Of the goodnesse of God in helping his People to a large liberty in Spirituall things, under the hopes of gaine in Earthly things.

THIS Proclamation being audibly published through the Ile of Great Brittaine by sundry Herraulds, which

Christ had prepared for that end : the rumour ran through Cities, Townes and Villages ; when those that were opposites heard it, some cried one thing, and some another, much like the tumult in the Town-hall at Ephesus, some said let them goe, others cryed, sweare them first, others said let no Subsidy men passe, others would have strict search made for non-conformants, and that none of the late silenced Ministers might passe into the Ships ; Amidst this great hurry the sincere servants of Christ humbly seeke the Lords assistance in days of Humiliation, taking up some serious cogitations, how to begin this worthy worke, upon which it was thought meete a patterne * should be procured, comprised after the manner of a Corporation-company or Brotherhood, with as large liberty for government of this Association, as could be got under the Broad Seale of England, which accordingly was done by advise of one Mr. White an honest Counsellor at Law, as also furthered by the honoured Mr. Richard Bilenham,† and under the name of many worthy personages, as Governour, Dep. Gov. Assistant and Freemen, &c. Granted, Ingrossed and Sealed as holding of the manner of East Greenwich, yeelding by way of homage the sixth part of all such Ore of Gold or Silver, as might for after time be found within the Limits of the said Grant bounded on the North, with the most Northerly part of the pleasant River of Merimech, one mile beyond, and on the South with the most Southern part of that oft frequented River commonly called Charles, one mile beyond, with power to rule and govern in all those parts both by Sea and Land ; To elect and set up all sorts of Officers, as well Superior as Inferior ; to point out their power and places, to defend and maintaine the said Land, and Inhabitants thereof with all their lawfull liberties (against all such as at any time should Invade, Molest or Disturbe the same) as well by offensive as defensive War, as also to constitute and ordaine Lawes, &c. Thus these Souldiers of Jesus Christ prepared to advance his Kingly Government, much like Samuel, when he went to annoynt David, took up another errant, withall that the Malignant spirit of Saul might not hinder the worke, so

* Patent ? † Bellingham.

those Worthies of Christ joyning themselves with Merchants and others, who had an eye at a profitable Plantation, who had not herein been deceived would they have stayed their time, but surely such mist not their marke, whose ayme was at the durable interest unlesse the fault were their owne, neither let any man thinke Christ will not recompense those one way or other, who have been any way helpfull to his people in this his work ; amongst whom the Author will not misse that good Gentleman, Matthew Craddock by the way of thankfullnesse to him, Mr. Goff and others this Verse is tendred :

For richest Jems and gainfull things most Merchants wisely venter :
Deride not then New England men, this Corporation enter ;
Christ calls for Trade shall never fade, come Craddock factors send :
Let Mayhew go and other more, spare not thy coyne to spend ;
Such Trades advance did never chance, in all thy Trading yet :
Though some deride thy losse, abide, her's * gaine beyond mans wit.

CHAP. VIII. — Of the wonderfull Preparation the Lord Christ by his Providence, wrought for his peoples abode in this Western world.

Now let all men know the admirable Acts of Christ for his Churches, and chosen, are universally over the whole Earth at one and the same time, but sorry man cannot so discourse of them ; And therefore let us leave our English Nation in way of preparation for this Voyage intended, and tell of the marvelous doing of Christ preparing for his peoples arrivall in the Western World, whereas the Indians report they beheld to their great wonderment that perspicuous bright blazing Comet (which was so famously noted in Europe) anon after Sun set it appeared as they say in the South west, about three houres continuing in their Horizon, for the space of thirty sleepes (for so they reckon their dayes) after which uncouth sight they expected some strange things to follow, and the rather, because not long before the whole Nation of the Mattachusets were so affrighted with a Ship that arrived in their Bay, having never seen any before, thus they report some persons among them discerning a great thing to move toward them upon the Waters, wondering what Creature it should be, they run with their

* here's ?

light cannowes, (which are a kinde of Boates made of Birch Rindes, and sowed together with the rootes of white Cedar-Trees) from place to place, stiring up all their Countreymen to come forth, and behold this monstrous thing; at this sudden news the shores for many miles were filled with this naked Nation, gazing at this wonder, till some of the stoutest among them manned out these Cannowes, being armed with Bow and Arrowes, they approached within shot of the Ship, being becalmed they let fly their long shafts at her, which being headed with bone some stuck fast, and others dropped into the water, they wondering it did not cry, but kept quietly on toward them, till all of a sudden the Master caused a piece of Ordnance to be fired, which stroke such feare into the poore Indians, that they hasted to shore, having their wonders exceedingly increased; but being gotten among their great multitude, they waited to see the sequell with much amazement, till the Seamen firling up their sailes came to an Anchor, manned out their long bote, and went on shore, at whose approach, the Indians fled, although now they saw they were men, who made signes to stay their flight, that they may have Trade with them, and to that end they brought certaine Copper-Kettles; the Indians by degrees made their approach nearer and nearer till they came to them, when beholding their Vessells which they had set forth before them, the Indians knocking them were much delighted with the sound, and much more astonished to see they would not breake, being so thin, for attaining those Vessells they brought them much Bever, fraughting them richly away according to their desires, this was the first working providence of Christ to stir up our English Nation, to plant these parts in hope of a rich Trade for Bever-skins, and this made some of our Countreymen make their abode in these parts, whom this Army of Christ at their comming over found as fit helps to further their designe in planting the Churches of Christ; Who by a more admirable act of his Providence not long after prepared for his peoples arrivall as followeth.

The Summer after the blazing Starre (whose motion in the Heavens was from East to West, poynting out to

the sons of men the progresse of the glorious Gospell of Christ, the glorious King of his Churches) even about the yeare 1618, a little before the removeall of that Church of Christ from Holland to Plimoth in New England, as the ancient Indians report, there befell a great mortality among them, the greatest that ever the memory of Father to Sonne tooke notice of, chiefly desolating those places, where the English afterward planted the Countrey of Pockanoky, Agissawamg, it was almost wholly deserted, insomuch that the Neighbour Indians did abandon those places for feare of death, fleeing more West & by South, observing the East and by Northern parts were most smitten with this contagion, the Abarginny men consisting of Mattachusets, Wippanaps and Tarratines were greatly weakened, and more especially the three Kingdomes, or Saggamore-ships of the Mattachusets, who were before this mortality most populous, having under them seven Dukedomes or petty Saggamores, and the Nianticks and Narrowganssits, who before this came were but of little note, yet were they now not much increased by such as fled thither for feare of death, the Pecods (who retained the Name of a war-like people, till afterwards conquered by the English) were also smitten at this time. Their Disease being a sore Consumption, sweeping away whole Families, but chiefly yong Men and Children, the very seeds of increase, their Powwowes, which are their Doctors, working partly by Charmes, and partly by Medicine, were much amazed to see their Wigwams lie full of dead Corpes, and that now neither Squantam nor Abbamocho could helpe, which are their good and bad God, and also their Powwows themselves were oft smitten with deaths stroke, howling and much lamentation was heard among the living, who being possest with great feare, oftimes left their dead unburied, their manner being such, that they remove their habitations at death of any, this great mortality being an unwonted thing, feare them the more, because naturally the Country is very healthy. But by this meanes Christ (whose great and glorious workes the Earth throughout are altogether for the benefit of his Churches and chosen) not onely made roome for his people to plant; but also

tamed the hard and cruell hearts of these barbarous Indians, insomuch that halfe a handfull of his people landing not long after in Plimoth-Plantation, found little resistance, of whom the Author purposes not to speake particularly, being prevented by the honoured Mr. Winslow, who was an eye-witnesse of the worke: onely thus much by the way, they were sent to keepe possession for their Brethren and fellow Souldiers, who arrived eight yeares after them, as in processe of this story will Godwilling appeare: and verily herein they quit themselves like men, or rather Christ for and by them, maintaining the place notwithstanding the multitude of difficulties they met withall at their first landing, being in doubtfull suspense what intertainment these Barbarians would give them, having with prayer supplicated the Lord in the Name of Christ their King and guide in this their undertaking, they manned out a Boate to discover what store of the inhabitants were there. Now these men, whose courage exceeded the number, being guided by the provident hand of the most high, landed in some severall places; and by making fires gave signes of their approach, now the Indians, whose dwellings are most neer the water-side, appeared with their Bowes bent and Arrowes one the string, let fly their long shafts among this little company, whom they might soon have inclosed, but the Lord otherwise disposed of it, for one Captaine Miles Standish having his fowling-peece in a reddinesse, presented full at them, his shot being directed by the provident Hand of the most high God, strook the stoutest Sachem among them one the right arme, it being bent over his shoulder to reach an Arrow forth his Quiver, as their manner is to draw them forth in fight, at this stroke they all fled with great swiftnesse through the Woods and Thickets, then the English, who more thirsted after their conversion than destruction, returned to their Bote without receiving any damage, and soon after arrived where they left their Brethren, to whom they declared the good hand of God toward them, with thankfull acknowledgement of this great worke of his in preserving them; Yet did they all remaine full of incumbred thoughts, the Indians, of whose multitudes they had now some intelli-

gence, together with experience of spirits, and also knew well without commerce with them they were not like long to subsist.

But hee, whose worke they went about, wrought so rare a Providence for them, which cannot but be admired of all that heare it. Thus it befell as they were discoursing in the Bote they had built for shelter, all of a sudden, an Indian came in among them, at whose speech they were all agast, he speaking in the English Language, *Much welcome Englishmen*, their wonder was the greater, because upon those Costes they supposed no English had so much as set foote, and verily Christ had prepared him on purpose to give his people intertainment, the Indian having lived in England two year or thereabout, after which he returned home, and at this time had wandred into those parts in company of other Indians, all this, and the condition of the neere adjoyning Indians, hee soon discovered unto them, at which they were transported beyond themselves very much, what with joy and the mixture of their former feare and affection intervening with the other, surprised all their senses of a sudden, that long it was ere each party could take its proper place, yea, and beyond all this Christ Jesus, by the power of his blessed Spirit, did now work upon all their faculties both of Soule and Body, the great impression of his present Providence might not soon be washed off with the following incumbred cares of a Desart Wildernesse ; but to contract, they made use of the present opportunity, and by the instrumentall meanes of this Indian, became acquainted and reconciled with most of the Neighbouring Indians. And afterward planted a Church of Christ there, and set up civill Government, calling the Name of the place Plimoth ; under this jurisdiction there are ten Churches at this very day, this being the first place any English resorted unto for the advancement of the Kingly Government of Christ in this Westerne World.

### CHAP. IX.—Of the first preparation of the Marchant Adventurers, in the Mattachusets.

Now it will be time to returne againe to England, to speake further of the people that wee left in way of pre-

paration; who in the yeare 1628, sent forth some store of servants to provide against the wants of a Desart Wildernesse, amongst whom came over a mixt multitude, insomuch that very little appeared of the following worke, onely the much honoured Mr. John Indicat,* came over with them to governe, a fit instrument to begin this Wildernesse-worke, of courage bold undanted, yet sociable, and of a cheerfull spirit, loving and austere, applying himselfe to either as occasion served. And now let no man be offended at the Authors rude Verse, penned of purpose to keepe in memory the Names of such worthies as Christ made strong for himselfe, in this unwonted worke of his.

*John Endicat* twice Goverour of the English, inhabiting the Mattachusets Bay in N. England.*

Strong valiant John wilt thou march on, and take up station first,
Christ cal'd hath thee, his Souldier be, and faile not of thy trust;
Wilderness wants Christs grace supplants, then plant his Churches pure,
With Tongues gifted, and graces led, help thou to his procure;
Undanted thou wilt not allow, Malignant men to wast: (tast.
Christs Vineyard heere, whose grace should cheer, his well-beloved's
Then honoured be, thy Christ hath thee their Generall promoted:
To shew their love, in place above, his people have thee voted.
Yet must thou fall, to grave with all the Nobles of the Earth,
Thou rotting worme, to dust must turn, and worse but for new birth.

The place picked out by this People to settle themselves in, was in the bosome of the out-stretched arme of Cape Anne, now called Gloster, but at the place of their abode they began to build a Town, which is called Salem, after some little space of time having made tryall of the Sordid spirits of the Neighbouring Indians, the most bold among them began to gather to divers places, which they began to take up for their owne, those that were sent over servants, having itching desires after novelties, found a reddier way to make an end of their Masters provision, then they could find meanes to get more; They that came over their own men had but little left to feed on, and most began to repent when their strong Beere and full cups ran as small as water in a large Land, but little Corne, and the poore Indian so far from relieving them, that they were forced to lengthen out

* Endicot.

their owne food with Acorns, and that which added to their present distracted thoughts, the Ditch betweene England and their now place of abode was so wide, that they could not leap over with a lope-staffe, yet some delighting their Eye with the rarity of things present, and feeding their fancies with new discoveries at the Springs approach, they made shift to rub out the Winters cold by the Fire-side, having fuell enough growing at their very doores, turning down many a drop of the Bottell, and burning Tobacco with all the ease they could, discoursing betweene one while and another, of the great progresse they would make after the Summers-Sun had changed the Earths white furr'd Gowne into a greene Mantell. Now the vernall of thirty* nine being come, they addrest themselves to coste it as far as they durst for feare of losing themselves, or falling into the hands of unknown Indians, being kept in awe by a report of a cruell people, not far of called the Tarratines. All this while little like-lihood there was building the Temple for Gods worship, there being only two that began to hew stones in the Mountaines, the one named Mr. Bright, and the other Mr. Blaxton,† and one of them began to build, but when they saw all sorts of stones would not fit in the building, as they supposed, the one betooke him to the Seas againe, and the other to till the Land, retaining no simbole of his former profession, but a Canonicall Coate.

### CHAP. X.—Of the first Church of Christ, gathered at Salem in the Mattachusets Government.

THIS yeare 1629, came over three godly Ministers of Christ Jesus, intending to shew his power in his peoples lowest condition as his manner is, thereby to strengthen their Faith in following difficulties, and now although the number of the faithfull people of Christ were but few, yet their longing desires to gather into a Church was very great; And therefore addressed themselves to finde out the blessed Rules of Christ for preserving herein, who through the assistance of his Blessed Spirit, found that the Word of God, penned by the Apostles in many Epistles, written to particular Churches, consisting of

* twenty ? † Blackstone.

such as are beloved Saints, by calling appearing so in the judgement of Charity, being tryed by the rule of the word, not scandalous in their Lives, for the society of such they sought, and in these beginnings found very few, seven being the lest number a Church can be gathered, or conceived by just consequence from the Word of God. Having fasted and prayed with humble acknowledgement of their own unworthinesse to be called of Christ to so worthy a worke, they joyned together in a holy Covenant with the Lord, and one with another promising by the Lords assistance to walke together in Exhorting, Admonishing, and Rebuking one another, and to cleave to the Lord with a full purpose of heart, according to the blessed Rules of his Word made known unto them, and further they seeing by light of Scripture the Lord Christ ascended up on high to give gifts unto men, not onely extraordinary as Apostles, &c. before the Canon of the Scripture was perfected, but also ordinary as Pastors and Teachers, and that such are to be fitted with gifts according, for so mighty a worke as is the Feeding and Ruling the Flock of Christ. Wherefore they Elected and Ordained one Mr. Higgingson * to be Teacher of this first Church of Christ, set up in those parts, a man indued with grace, apt to teach, and mighty in the Scriptures, Learned in the Tongues, able to convince gainsayers, aptly applying the word to his hearers, who departed this life not long after, of whom it may be said.

*The Reverend Mr. Higgingson * first Pastor of the Church of Christ at Salem in New England.*

What Golden gaine made Higginson remove,
From fertill Soyle to Wildernesse of Rocks;
'Twas Christs riche Pearle stir'd up thee toile to love,
For him to feed in Wildernesse his flocks.
First Teacher, he here Sheepe and Lambs together,
First crownd shall be, hee in the Heavens of all,
Christs Pastors here, but yet Christ folke had rather,
Him here retaine, blest he whom Christ hath call'd.

They also called to the Office of an Exhorting Elder Mr. Scelton,† a man of a gratious Speech, full of Faith and furnished by the Lord with gifts from above, to be-

* Higginson. † Skelton.

gin this great worke of his, that makes the whole Earth to ring againe at this present day.

*The Reverend Mr. Scelton* first Pastor of the Church of Christ, at Salem in New England,* 1630.

Scelton * for Christ did leave his Native Soile,
Christ Grace first wrought for him, or he had never
A Pastor been in Wildernesse to toile,
Where Christ his Flock doth into Churches gather;
For five years space to end thy war-faire thou,
Muste meete with wantes, what wants can be to him?
Whose Shepheard's Christ, Earths fulnesse hath for you;
And Heavens rich Crowne for thee, with's conquest win.

This Church of Christ, being thus begun, the Lord with the Water-spouts of his tender Mercy caused to increase and fructify. And now let every Eare listen, and every heart admire, and inlarge it selfe to the astonishment of the whole man at this wonderous worke of the great Jehovah; That in thrice seven yeares (after the beginning of this Worke) wrought such fearfull Desolations and wonderfull Alterations among our English Nation, and also in this dismall Desart, wasting the naturall Inhabitant with deaths stroke, and that as is former touched, the Mattachusets, who were a populous Nation, consisting of 30000 able men, now brought to lesse then 300, and in their roome and place of abode this poore Church of Christ consisting at their beginning, but of seven persons, increased to forty three Churches in joynt Communion one with the other, professing One God, One Christ, and one Gospell, and in those Churches about 7750 Soules in one profession of the Rules of Christ, and that which makes the worke more admirable in the Eyes of all beholders, mens habitations are cut out of the Woods and Bushes, neither can this place be entered by our English Nation, but by passing through a dreadfull and terrible Ocean of nine hundred Leagues in length.

CHAP. XI.—Of the Glorious beginnings of a thorough Reformation in the Churches of Christ.

FURTHER know these are but the beginnings of Christs glorious Reformation, and Restauration of his Churches

* Skelton

to a more glorious splendor than ever. Hee hath therefore caused their dazeling brightnesse of his presence to be contracted in the burning Glasse of these his peoples zeale, from whence it begins to be left * upon many parts of the World with such hot reflection of that burning light, which hath fired many places already, the which shall never be quenched till it hath burnt up Babilon Root and Branch, and now let the Reader looke one the 102 Psalme, the Prophet Isaia 66 Chapter, take this sharpe Sword of Christs Word, and all other Scriptures of like nature, and follow on yee valiant of the Lord; And behold the worthies of Christ, as they are boldly leading forth his Troops into these Westerne Fields, marke them well Man by Man as they march, terrible as an Army with Banners, croud in all yee that long to see this glorious sight, see ther's their glorious King Christ one that white Horse, whose hoofes like flint cast not only sparkes, but flames of fire in his pathes. Behold his Crown beset with Carbunkles, wherein the names of his whole Army are written. Can there be ever night in his Presence, whose eyes are ten thousand times higher † than the Sun? Behold his swiftness all you that have said, where is the promise of his comming? Listen a while, hear what his herauld proclaimes, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, both her Doctrine and Lordly rabble of Popes, Cardinals, Lordly-Bishops, Friers, Monks, Nuns, Seminary-Priests, Jesuits, Ermites, Pilgrims, Deans, Prebends, Arch-Deacons, Commissaries, Officialls, Proctors, Somners, Singing-men, Choristers, Organist, Bellows-blowers, Vergers, Porters, Sextons, Beads-men, and Bel-ringers and all others who never had name in the Word of God; together with all her false Doctrines, although they may seeme otherwise never so contradictory as Arians, who deny the God-head of Christ, and Gortenists, who deny the Humanity of Christ: Paptists, who thinke to merit Heaven by the Workes of the Law, Antinomians, who deny the Law of God altogether as a rule to walke by in the obedience of Faith, and deny good works to be the Fruit of Faith, Arminians, who attribute Gods Election, or Reprobation to the will of Man, and Familists, who forsake the revealed Will of God, and make men de-

* felt?

† brighter?

pend upon strong Revelations, for the knowledge of Gods Electing Love towards them, Conformitants or Formalists, who bring in a forme of worship of their owne, and joyne it with the worship God hath appointed in his Word, Seekers, that deny all manner of worship or Ordinances of Christ Jesus, affirming them to be quite lost, and not to be attained till new Apostles come.

CHAP. XII. — Of the voluntary banishment, chosen by this People of Christ, and their last farewell taken of their Country and Friends.

AND now behold the severall Regiments of these Souldiers of Christ, as they are shipped for his service in the Western World, part thereof being come to the Towne and Port of Southampton in England, where they were to be shipped, that the might prosecute this designe to the full, one Ship called the Eagle, they wholly purchase, and many more they hire, filling them with the seede of man and beast to sow this yet untilled Wildernesse withall, making sale of such Land as they possesse, to the great admiration of their Friends and Acquaintance, who thus expostulate with them, What, will not the large income of your yearly revenue content you, which in all reason cannot chuse but be more advantagious both to you and yours, then all that Rocky Wildernesse, whither you are going, to run the hazard of your life? Have you not here your Tables filled with great variety of Foode, your Coffers filled with Coyne, your Houses beautifully built and filled with all rich Furniture? (or otherwise) have you not such a gainfull Trade as none the like in the Towne where you live? Are you not inriched daily? Are not your Children very well provided for as they come to years? (nay) may you not here as pithily practise the two chiefe Duties of a Christian (if Christ give strength) namely Mortification and Sanctification as in any place of the World? What helps can you have there that you must not carry from hence? With bold resolvednesse these stout Souldiers of Christ reply; as Death, the King of terror with all his dreadfull attendance inhumane and barbarous, tortures doubled and trebled by all the infernall furies have appeared but light and momentary to the Souldiers of Christ Jesus, so

also the Pleasure, Profits and Honours of this World set forth in their most glorious splendor, and magnitude by the alluring Lady of Delight, proffering pleasant embraces, cannot intice with her Syren Songs, such Souldiers of Christ, whose aymes are elevated by him, many Millions above that brave Warrier Ulysses.

Now seeing all can be said will but barely set forth the immoveable Resolutions that Christ continued in these men; Passe on and attend with teares, if thou hast any, the following discourse, while these Men, Women and Children are taking their last farewell of their Native Country, Kindred, Friends and Acquaintance, while the Ships attend them; Many make choise of some solitary place to eccho out their bowell-breaking affections in bidding their Friends farewell, deare friends (sayes one) as neare as my owne soule doth thy love lodge in my brest, with thought of the heart-burning Ravishments, that thy Heavenly speeches have wrought; my melting soule is poured out at present with these words, both of them had their farther speach strangled from the depth of their inward dolor, with breast-breaking sobs, till leaning their heads each on others shoulders, they let fall the salt-dropping dews of vehement affection, striving to exceede one another, much like the departure of David and Jonathan: having a little eased their hearts with the still streames of Teares, they recovered speech againe. Ah! my much honoured friend, hath Christ given thee so great a charge as to be Leader of his People into that far remote, and vast Wildernesse, I, oh, and alas thou must die there and never shall I see thy Face in the flesh againe, wert thou called to so great a taske as to passe the pretious Ocean, and hazard thy person in Battell against thousands of Malignant Enemies there? there were hopes of thy return with triumph, but now after two, three, or foure moneths spent with daily expectation of swallowing Waves, and cruell Pirates, you are to be Landed among barbarous Indians, famous for nothing but cruelty, where you are like to spend your days in a famishing condition for a long space; Scarce had he uttered this, but presently hee lockes his friend fast in his armes, holding each other thus for some space of time, they weepe againe, But as

Paul to his beloved flock: the other replies what doe you weeping and breaking my heart? I am now prest for the service of our Lord Christ, to re-build the most glorious Edifice of Mount Sion in a Wildernesse, and as John Baptist, I must cry prepare yee the way of the Lord, make his paths strait, for behold hee is comming againe, hee is comming to destroy Antichrist, and give the whore double to drinke the very dregs of his wrath.

Then my deare friend unfold thy hands, for thou and I have much worke to doe, I and all Christian Souldiers the World throughout, then hand in hand they leade each other to the Sandy-banks of the brinish Ocean, when clenching their hands fast, they unloose not til inforced to wipe their watery-eyes, whose constant streames forced a watery-path upon their Cheeks, which to hide from the eyes of others they shun society for a time, but being called by occasion, whose bauld back-part none can lay hold one; They thrust in among the throng now ready to take Ship, where they beheld the like affections with their own among divers Relations, Husbands and Wives with mutuall consent are now purposed to part for a time 900 Leagues asunder, since some providence at present will not suffer them to goe together, they resolve their tender affections shall not hinder this worke of Christ, the new Married and betrothed man, exempt by the Law of God from war, now will not claime their priviledge, but being constrained by the Love of Christ, lock up their naturall affections for a time, till the Lord shall be pleased to give them a meeting in this Westerne World, sweetly mixing it with spirituall love, in the meane time many Fathers now take their yong Samuells, and give them to this service of Christ all their Lives. Brethren, Sisters, Unkles, Nephewes, Neeces, together with all Kindred of bloud that binds the bowells of affection in a true Lovers knot, can now take their last farewell, each of other, although naturall affection will still claime her right, and manifest her selfe to bee in the body by looking out at the Windowes in a mournefull manner among this company, thus disposed doth many Reverend and godly Pastors of Christ present themselves, some in a Seamans Habit, and their scattered sheepe comming as

a poore Convoy loftily take their leave of them as followeth, what dolefull dayes are these, when the best choise our Orthodox Ministers can make is to take up a perpetuall banishment from their native soile, together with their Wives and Children, wee their poore sheepe they may not feede, but by stoledred should they abide here. Lord Christ, here they are at thy command, they go, this is the doore thou hast opened upon our earnest request, and we hope it shall never be shut: For Englands sake they are going from England to pray without ceasing for England, O England! thou shalt finde New England prayers prevailing with their God for thee, but now woe alas, what great hardship must these our indeared Pastors indure for a long season, with these words they lift up their voyces and wept, adding many drops of salt liquor to the ebbing Ocean; Then shaking hands they bid adue with much cordiall affection to all their Brethren, and Sisters in Christ, yet now the Scorne and Derision of those times, and for this their great enterprise counted as so many crackt-braines, but Christ will make all the Earth know the wisdome he hath indued them with, shall over-top all the humane policy in the World, as the sequell wee hope will shew; Thus much shall suffice in generall to speak of their peoples farewell they tooke from time to time of their Country and Friends.

CHAP. XIII. — Of the charges expended by this poore People, to injoy Christ in his purity of his Ordinances.

AND now they enter the Ships, should they have cast up what it would have cost to people New England before hand, the most strongest of Faith among them would certainly have staggered much, and very hardly have set saile. But behold and wonder at the admirable Acts of Christ, here it is cast up to thy hand, the passage of the persons that peopled New England cost ninety five thousand pounds, the Swine, Goates, Sheepe, Neate and Horse, cost to transport twelve thousand pound, besides the price they cost, getting food for all persons for the time till they could bring the Woods to tillage amounted unto forty five thousand pounds; Nayles, Glasse and other Iron-worke for their meeting-houses, and other

dwelling houses before they could raise any meanes in the Country to purchase them, Eighteene thousand pounds, Armes, Powder, Bullet and Match, together with their great Artillery, twenty two thousand pounds: the whole sum amounts unto one hundred ninety two thousand pound, beside that which the adventurers laid out in England, which was a small pittance compared with this, and indeed most of those that cast into this Banke were the chiefe Adventurers. Neither let any man thinke the sum above expressed did defray the whole charge of this Army, which amounts to above as much more, onely this sum lies still in banke, and the other they have had the income againe; This therefore is chiefly presented to satisfie such as thinke New England men have beene bad husbands in managing their Estates, assuredly here it lies in banke, put out to the greatest advantage that ever any hath beene for many hundred of yeares before, and verily although in casting it up some hundreds may be miscounted (for the Author would not willingly exceede in any respect) but to be sure Christ stands by and beholds every mite that (in the obedience of Faith) is cast into this Treasury: but what doe wee answering men? the money is all Christs, and certainly hee will take it well that (his,) have so disposed of it to his advantage; by this meanes hee hath had a great income in England of late, Prayers, Teares and Praise, and some Reformation; Scotland and Ireland have met with much of the profit of this Banke, Virginia, Bermodas and Barbados have had a taste, and France may suddenly meete with the like. Therefore repent you not, you that have cast in your Coyne, but tremble all you that with a penurious hand have not onely cast, in such as are taking out to hord it up in your Napkins, remember Ananias and Saphirah, how darest thou doe it in these dayes, when the Lord hath need of it? Gentle Reader make use of this memorable Providence of Christ for his New England Churches, where had this poore people this great sum of money? the mighty Princes of the Earth never opened their Coffers for them, and the generality of these men were meane and poore in the things of this life, but sure it is the work is done, let God have the glory, who

hath now given them food to the full, and some to spare for other Churches.

CHAP. XIV.—Of the wonderfull preservation of Christ, in carrying his People, Men, Women, Children, through the largest Ocean in the World.

AND now you have had a short survay of the charges of their New England Vayages, see their progresse being safe aboard weighing Anker, and hoysting saile they betooke them to the protection of the Lord on the wide Ocean, no sooner were they dispersed by reason of the widenesse of the Sea, but the Arrabella, (for so they called the Eagle, which the company purchased in honour of the Lady Arrabella, Wife to that godly Esquire, Izack Johnson) espied foure Ships, as they supposed, in pursuit of them, their suspition being the more augmented by reason of a report (when they lay in harbor) of foure Dunkerk-men of war, who were said to lie waiting for their comming forth, at this sight they make preparation, according to their present condition, comforting one another in the sweete mercies of Christ: the weaker sex betooke them to the Ships hold, but the men one Decks waite in readinesse for the enemies approach. At whose courage many of the Seamen wonder, not knowing under whose command these their passengers were, even he who makes all his Souldiers bold as Lions. Yet was he not minded to make triall of his peoples valiantcy in fight at this time, for the ships comming up with them proved to be their own Countrymen and friends, at which they greatly rejoyced, seeing the good hand of their God was upon them, and are further strengthened in Faith to rely one Christ, for the future time against all Leakes, Stormes, Rockes, Sands, and all other wants a long Sea-voyage procures, sustaining them with all meeknesse and patience, yet sensible of the Lords frownes, humbling their soules before him, and also rejoycing, in his deliverances in taking the cup of Salvation, and paying the tribute of thankfulnesse to the most high, whose provident hand was diversly directed toward them, purposely to point out the great hardships they must undergoe in this their Christian warfare, and withall to tell

them, although their difficulties were many and mournfull, yet their victories should be much more glorious and joyfull, eminently eyed of the whole World, but now keeping their course so neere as the winds will suffer them, the billowes begin to grow lofty and rageing, and suddenly bringing them into the vale of death, covering them with the formidable flouds, and dashing their bodies from side to side, hurling their unfixed goods from place to place at these unwonted workes. Many of these people amazed finde such opposition in nature, that her principles grow feeble, and cannot digest her food, loathing all manner of meat, so that the vitall parts are hindered from co-operating with the Soule in spirituall duties, insomuch that both Men, Women, and Children are in a helplesse condition for present, and now is the time if ever of recounting this service they have, and are about to undertake for Christ; but he, who is very sensible of his peoples infirmities, rebukes the winds, and Seas for their sakes, and then the reverend and godly among them begin to exhort them in the name of the Lord, and from the Lord, being fitted with such words as much incourrages the worke they are going about, many of their horses and other Cattell are cast over-board by the way, to the great disheartening of some, but Christ knew well how far his peoples hearts would be taken off the maine worke with these things. And therefore although he be very tender in providing outward necessaries for his, yet rather than this great worke (he intends) should be hindered, their Tables shall be spred but thinly in this wildernesse for a time. After the Lord had exercised them thus severall ways, he sent Diseases to visit their Ships, that the desart Land they were now drawing near unto might not be deserted by them at first enterance, which sure it would have been by many, had not the Lord prevented by a troublesom passage: At forty dayes end, or thereabout, they cast to sound the Seas depth, and find them sixty fadom, by which they deem the bankes of New found Land are near, where they being provided with Cod-line and Hooke hale up some store of fish to their no small refreshing, and within some space of time after they approach the Cost of New

England, where they are againe provided with Mackarell, and that which was their greater rejoycing, they discover Land, at sight thereof they blessed the Lord.

But before the Author proceed any further in this Discourse, take here a short survay of all the Voyages by Sea, in the transportation of these Armies of the great Jehova, for fifteene years space to the year 1643, about which time England began to indeavour after Reformation, and the Souldiers of Christ were set at liberty to bide his battells at home, for whose assistance some of the chiefe worthies of Christ returned back: the number of Ships that transported passengers in this space of time, as is supposed is 298. Men, Women and Children passing over this wide Ocean, as near as at present can be gathered, is also supposed to be 21200, or thereabout.

CHAP. XV.—An Exhortation to all People, Nations and Languages, to indeavour the advancing of the Kingdome of Christ in the purity of his Ordinances, seeing he hath done, such admirable Acts for these poore shrubs.

AND now all you whose affections are taken with wonderful matters (Attend) and you that thinke Christ hath forgotten his poore despised people (Behold) and all you that hopefully long for Christs appearing to confound Antichrist (Consider) and rejoyce all yee his Churches the World throughout, for the Lambe is preparing his Bride, and oh! yee the antient Beloved of Christ, whom he of old led by the hand from Egypt to Canaan, through that great and terrible Wildernesse, looke here, behold him whom you have pierced, preparing to pierce your hearts with his Wonder-working Providence, and to provoke you by this little handfull of his people to looke on him, and mourne. Yet let no man think these few weake Wormes would restraine the wonderfull Workes of Christ, as onely to themselves, but the quite contrary, these but the Porch of his glorious building in hand, and if hee have shewed such admirable acts of his providence toward these, what will he doe when the whole Nation of English shall set upon like Reformation according to the direct Rule of his Word? Assured confidence there

is also for all Nations, from the undoubted promise of Christ himselfe.

The Winter is past, the Raine is changed and gone, come out of the holes of the secret places, feare not because your number is but small, gather into Churches, and let Christ be your King, yee Presbytery, Lord it not over them or any Churches, but feed every one, that one flock over which Christ hath made you overseers, and yee people of Christ give your Presbytery double honours, that they with you may keepe the watch of the Lord over his Churches. Ye Dutch come out of your hods-podge, the great mingle mangle of Religion among you hath caused the Churches of Christ to increase so little with you, standing at a stay, like Corne among Weeds, Oh, yee French! feare not the great swarmes of Locusts, nor the croking Frogs in your Land, Christ is reaching out the hand to you, look what hee hath done for these English, and sure hee is no Respecter of Persons, &c. yee Germanes that have had such a bloudy bickering, Christ is now comming to your aide, then cast off your loose, and carelesse kinde of Reformation, gather into Churches, and keepe them pure, that Christ may delight to dwell among you: oh Italy! the Seat and Center of the Beast, Christ will now pick out a People from among you for himselfe, see here what wonders hee workes in little time. Oh! yee Spaniards and Portugalls, Christ will shew you the abominations of that beastly Whore, who hath made your Nations drunke with the Wine of her Fornication. dread not that cruell murtherous Inquisition, for Christ is now making Inquisition for them, and behold, here how hee hath rewarded them, who dealt cruelly with these his people.

Finally, oh all ye nations of the World, behold great is the worke the glorious King of Heaven and Earth hath in hand; beware of neglecting the call of Christ: and you the Seed of Israel both lesse and more, the ratling of your dead bones together is at hand, Sinewes, Flesh and Life: at the Word of Christ it comes Counsellors and Judges, you shall have as at the beginning to fight for you, as Gidion, Bareck, Jeptha, Samson, &c. then sure your deliverance shall be sudden and wonderfull, if Christ

have done such great things for these low Shrubs, what will his most Admirable, Excellent and wonderfull Worke for you be, but as the Resurrection from the dead, when all the miraculous acts of his wonderfull power shewed upon Pharoah? for your fore-Fathers deliverance shall be swallowed up with those far greater workes that Christ shall shew for your deliverance upon the whole World, by Fiers and Bloud destroying both Pope and Turke, when you shall see great smoake and flames ascending up on high, of that great Whore, Revel. 14 & 11. verse, and the 17. & 16. verse, and the 18. the 8. and 18. vers. Then oh! you People of Israel gather together as one Man, and grow together as one Tree. Ezek. 37. & 23. For Christ the great King of all the Earth is now going forth in his great Wrath and terrible Indignation to avenge the bloud of his Saints, Ezek. 38 & 19. vers. and now for the great and bloudy Battell of Gog and Magog, Rivers of bloud, and up to the Horse-bridles, even the bloud of those have drunke bloud so long, oh! dreadfull day, when the patience and long suffering of Christ, that hath lasted so many hundreds of yeares shall end, what wonderous workes are now suddenly to be wrought for the accomplishment of these things! Then judge all you (whom the Lord Christ hath given a discerning spirit) whether these poore New England People be not the fore runners of Christs Army, and the marvelous providences which you shall now heare, be not the very Finger of God, and whether the Lord hath not sent this people to Preach in this Wildernesse, and to proclaime to all Nations, the neere approach of the most wonderfull workes that ever the Sonnes of men saw. Will not you believe that a Nation can be borne in a day? here is a worke come very neare it; but if you will believe you shall see far greater things than these, and that in very little time, and in the meane time looke on the following Discourse.

CHAP. XVI.—Of the admirable Acts of Christs Providence, in delivering this his people in their Voyages by Sea, from many foule dangers.

You have heard of about 198* Ships passing the perillous Ocean, of all which I heare of but one that ever

* 298?

miscarried; yet shall you here see some of the great dangers they were in the Ship, this Author came in a foggy morning, anon by breake of day was ready to be steamed * by a Pirate, but being unready for fight they passed by; others by a fog, have been delivered from farther chase of them, so that of this great number never did any Pirate make one shot at them, according to best intelligence. Their deliverance from leakes also hath been no lesse wonderfull, some so neare sinking, that the loving affection betweene Husband and Wife, hath caused them to fould each other in their Armes, with Resolution to die together, and make the Sea their Grave, yet not ceasing to call on the Lord, their present helpe in time of need, who is minded to manifest his great care for this his people to all that shall come to hear thereof. And therefore directs to meanes for freeing their ships, being now ready to founder in the depthlesse Ocean. And further, as if these deliverances were too little to expresse the tender care Christ hath of his, to free them from all dangers, those that occupy their businesse in the deepe, and see the Wonders of God upon the waters, are taken with great astonishment to behold the extraordinary hand of the most High, in transportation of this people, in that their Ships all of a sudden are brought so neer the ground, and yet strike not their Pilots, missing ofttimes of their skill on those unwandered Coasts, but their Jehovah hee misses not to be an exact Pilot in the most thickest foggs and darkest nights, for thus it befell.

The night newly breaking off her darknesse, and the day-light being clouded with a grosse vapor, as if nights Curtaines remained halfe shut, the Sea-men and Passengers standing on the Decks, suddenly fixed their eyes one a great Boat (as they deemed) and anon after they spied another, and after that another; but musing on the matter, they perceived themselves to be in great danger of many great Rocks, with much terror and affrightment, they turned the Ship about, expecting every moment to be dasht in pieces against the Rocks. But he whose providence brought them in, Piloted them out againe, without any danger, to their great Rejoycing. And assuredly (so extraordinarily eminent and admirable to the

* stormed ?

eyes of many beholders, was the wonderfull workes in magnifying the Rich grace towards this his people in prefering them) that many Masters of Ships left their Sea-imployment for a time, and chose rather to suffer the wants of a Wildernesse with the people of God, than to increase their Estates in a full-fed Land, and verily so taken they were, that they fell down at Christs Feet, and were placed by him as living stones, Elect and Pretious in his Churches; also many other Seamen were brought to seeke after Christ in his Ordinances, by which it appeares some great worke, by some far surpassing all this, hath Christ ere long to doe, that hee thus fitteth Instruments. Then all you that occupy shipping prepare for his service, who will assuredly prove the best owner that ever you went to Sea for.

Furthermore, the condition of those persons passed the Seas, in this long and restlesse Voyage (if rightly considered) will more magnify the grace of Christ in this great Worke. First, such were many of them that never before had made any path through the Waters, no not by boat, neither so much as seene a Ship, others so tenderly brought up that they had little hope of their Lives continuance under such hardships, as so long a Voyage must needs inforce them to indure, others there were, whose Age did rather call for a quiet Couch to rest them on, than a pinching Cabbin in a Reeling Ship, others whose weake natures were so borne downe with Disease, that they could hardly craule up the Ships-side yet ventured their weake Vessells to this Westurne World. Here also might you see weakly Women, whose hearts have trembled to set foote in Boate, but now imboldened to venter through these tempestuous Seas with their yong Babes, whom they nurture up with their Breasts, while their bodies are tossed on the tumbling Waves; also others whose Wombes could not containe their fruit, being ready for the Worlds-light, travailed and brought forth upon this deptlesse Ocean in this long Voyage, lively and strong Children yet living, and like to prove succeeding Instruments in the Hands of Christ, for furthering this worke; among other Sea-borne Cotton, now a young student in a Colledge in Cambridge, being Son

to that Famous and Renowned Teacher of Christ, M. John Cotton; by all this and much more that might be said, for allmost every one you discourse withall will tell you of some Remarkable Providence of God shewed toward them in this their Voyage, by which you may see the Worke of Christ is not to bee laid aside because of difficulties.

CHAP. XVII.—Of the first leading of these People of Christ, when the Civill Government was Established.

BUT to goe on with the Story, the 12 of July* or thereabout 1630, these Souldiers of Christ first set foote one this Westerne end of the World; where arriveing in safety, both Men, Women and Children. On the North side of Charles River, they landed neare a small Island, called Noddells Island, where one Mr. Samuel Mavereck† then living, a man of a very loving and curteous behaviour, very ready to entertaine strangers, yet an enemy to the Reformation in hand, being strong for the Lordly Prelaticall power, one this Island, he had built a small Fort with the helpe of one Mr. David Tompson, ‡ placing therein foure Murtherers to protect him from the Indians. About one mile distant upon the River ran a small creeke, taking its Name from Major Gen. Edward Gibbons, who dwelt there for some yeares after. One the South-side of the River one a point of Land called Blaxtons § point, planted Mr. William Blaxton,§ of whom we have formerly spoken. To the South-East of him, neare an Island called Tompsons Island lived some few Planters more. These persons were the first Planters of those parts, having some small Trading with the Indians for Beaver-Skins, which moved them to make their aboade in those parts, whom these first Troopes of Christs Army, found as fit helpes to further their worke. At their arrivall those small number of Christians gathered at Salem, greatly rejoycing and the more, because they saw so many that came chiefly for promoting the great Work of Christ in hand. The Lady Arrabella and some other godly Women aboad at Salem, but their Husbands continued at Charles Town, both for the settling the civill Government, and gathering

* June—says Prince—and that J. mistakes. See N. E. Chronology, I. p. 208. ED.

† Maverick? ‡ Thomson? § Blackstone?

another Church of Christ. The first Court was holden aboard the Arrabella the 23 of August. When the much honoured John Wintrope* Esq. was chosen Governour for the remainder of that yeare, 1630. Also the worthy Thomas Dudly† Esq. was chosen Deputy Governour, and Mr. Simon Brodestreet‡ Secretary, the people after their long Voyage were many of them troubled with the Scurvy, and some of them died: the first station they tooke up was at Charles Towne, where they pitched some Tents of Cloath, other built them small Huts, in which they lodged their Wifes and Children. The first beginning of this worke seemed very dolorous; First for the death of that worthy personage Izaac Johnson Esq. whom the Lord had indued with many pretious gifts, insomuch that he was had in high esteeme among all the people of God, and as a chiefe Pillar to support this new erected building. He very much rejoyced at his death, that the Lord had been pleased to keepe his eyes open so long, as to see one Church of Christ gathered before his death, at whose departure there was not onely many weeping eyes, but some fainting hearts, fearing the fall of the present worke. For future Remembrance of him mind this Meeter.

*Izaac Johnson Esquire beloved of Christ and his people, and one of the Magistrates of New England.*

What mov'd thee on the Seas upon such toyle with Lady-taking;
Christs drawing love all strength's above, when way for his hee's making.
Christ will have thee example be, honoured with's graces, yeilding
His Churches aid, foundation laid, now new one Christ a building.
Thy Faith, Hope, Love, Joy, Meeknesse prove improved for thy Lord,
As he to thee, to people be, in Government accord.
Oh! people why, doth Christ deny this worthies life to lengthen?
Christ onely trust, Johnsons turnd dust, and yet hee's crownd and strengthend.

The griefe of this people was further increased by the sore sicknesse which befell among them, so that almost in every Family Lamentation, Mourning, and woe was heard, and no fresh food to be had to cherish them, it would assuredly have moved the most lockt up affections to Teares no doubt, had they past from one Hut to anoth-

* Winthrop? † Dudley? ‡ Bradstreet?

er, and beheld the piteous case these people were in, and that which added to their present distresse was the want of fresh water, for although the place did afford plenty, yet for present they could finde but one Spring, and that not to be come at, but when the tide was downe, which caused many to passe over to the South-side of the River, where they afterward erected some other Townes, yet most admirable it was to see with what Christian courage many of these Souldiers of Christ carried it amidst all these calamities, and in October, the Governour Deputy and Assistants, held their second Court on the South-side of the River; Where they then began to build, holding correspondency with Charles Towne, as one and the same.

At this Court many of the first Planters came, and were made free, yet afterward none were admitted to this fellowship, or freedome, but such as were first joyned in fellowship with some of the Churches of Christ, their chiefest aime being bent to promote his worke altogether. The number of freemen this yeare was 110 or thereabout.

### CHAP. XVIII.—Of the second Church of Christ, gathered at Charles Towne in the Mattachusets Bay, 1631.*

AND now the new-come Souldiers of Christ strengthen themselves in him, and gather a Church at Charles Towne, whose extent at present did reach to both sides of the River, and in very little time after was divided into two Churches, the Reverend and judicious Mr. John Wilson was called to be Pastor thereof, a Man full of Faith, Courage and Zeale, for the truth of Christ persecuted, and hunted after by the usurping Prelates (and forced for present to part from his indeared Wife) yet honoured by Christ, and made a powerfull instrument in his hands for the cutting downe of Error, and Schisme, as in the sequell of this History will appeare, in whose weaknesse Christs power hath appeared.

* 1630?

*The Grave and Reverend Mr. John Wilson, now Pastor of the Church of Christ at Soston* in New England.*

John Wilson will to Chrìsts will submit,
In Wildernesse, where thou hast Trialls found,
Christ in new making did compose thee fit,
And made thy Love zeale, for his truth abound.
Then it's not Wilson, but Christ by him hath,
Error cut down when it o'retopping stood,
Thou then 'Gainst it didst shew an holy wrath;
Saving mens soules from this o're-flowing floud.
They thee deprave, thy Ministrey dispise,
By thy thick utterance seeke to call Men back,
From hearing thee, but Christ for thee did rise.
And turned the wheel-right over them to crack.
Yea, caused thee with length of dayes to stand,
Steadfast in's house in old Age fruit to bring,
I and thy seed raise up by his command;
His Flock to feed, rejoyce my Muse and sing.
That Christ doth dust regard so plentiously,
Rich gifts to give, and heart to give him his,
Estate and person thou spends liberally;
Christ thee, and thine will crown with lasting Blisse.

This, as the other Churches of Christ, began with a small number in a desolate and barren Wildernesse, which the Lord in his wonderfull mercy hath turned to fruitfull Fields. Wherefore behold the present condition of these Churches compared with their beginnings; as they sowed in teares, so also have they Reaped in joy, and shall still so go on if plenty and liberty marre not their prosperity. This Towne of Charles is situated one the North-side of Charles River, from whence it tooke its Name, the River being about five or six fathom deepe; Over against the Town many small Islands lieing to the Seaward of it, and Hills one either side. By which meanes it proves a very good harbor for Ships, which hath caused many Sea-men and Merchants to sit downe there, the forme of this Towne in the frontice piece thereof, is like the Head, Neck and Shoulders of a Man, onely the pleasant, and Navigable River of Mistick runs through the right shoulder thereof, and by its neare approach to Charles River in one place makes a very narrow neck, by which meanes the chiefe part of the Towne, whereon the most building stands, becomes a Peninsula:

* Boston.

it hath a large market-place neer the water side built round with Houses, comly and faire, forth of which there issues two streetes orderly built with some very faire Houses, beautified with pleasant Gardens and Orchards, the whole Towne consists in its extent of about 150 dwelling Houses. Their meeting house for Sabbath assembly stands in the Market-place, very comly built and large, the Officers of this Church are at this day one Pastor, and one Teacher, one Ruling Elder, and three Deacons, the number of Soules are about 160, wonderfull it is to see that in so short a time such great alterations Christ should worke for these poore people of his: their Corne Land in Tillage in this Towne is about 1200 Acres, their great Cattell are about 400 head, Sheepe neare upon 400, as for their horse you shall hear of them, Godwilling, when we come to speak of their Military Discipline.

CHAP. XIX.—Of the Third Church of Christ gathered at Dorchester, 1631.

THE third Church of Christ gathered under this Government was at Dorchester, a frontire Town scituated very pleasantly both for facing the Sea, and also its large extent into the main Land, well watered with two small Rivers; neere about this Town inhabited some few ancient Traders, who were not of this select band, but came for other ends, as Morton of Merry-mount, who would faine have resisted this worke, but the provident hand of Christ prevented. The forme of this Towne is almost like a Serpent turning her head to the Northward; over against Tompsons* Island, and the Castle, her body and wings being chiefly built on, are filled somewhat thick of Houses, onely that one of her Wings is clipt, her Tayle being of such a large extent that shee can hardly draw it after her; Her Houses for dwelling are about one hundred and forty, Orchards and Gardens full of Fruit-trees, plenty of Corne-Land, although much of it hath been long in tillage, yet hath it ordinarily good crops, the number of Trees are neare upon 1500. Cowes, and other Cattell of that kinde about 450. Thus hath the Lord been pleased to increase his poore dis-

* Thomson's.

persed people, whose number in this Flock are neare about 150, their first Pastor called to feede them was the Reverend, and godly Mr. Maveruck.*

Maveruck* thou must put period to thy dayes,
In Wildernesse thy Kindred thee provoke
To come, but Christ doth thee for high ends Raise;
Amongst his worthies to strike many a stroke.
Thy godly Life, and Doctrine speake, though thou
In dust art laid, yet Christ by thee did feede
His scattered Lambes, they gathered are by you;
Christ calls thee home, but flock he leaves to feede.

Mr. Wareham and other of their Teaching Elders, you shall reade of when the Canecktoco† is planted.

CHAP. XX.—Of the Fourth Church of Christ, gathered at Boston, 1631.

AFTER some little space of time the Church of Christ at Charles Town, having their Sabbath assemblies oftenest on the South side of the River, agreed to leave the people on that side to themselves, and to provide another Pastor for Charles Towne, which accordingly they did. So that the fourth Church of Christ issued out of Charles Towne, and was seated at Boston, being the Center Towne and Metropolis of this Wildernesse worke (but you must not imagine it to be a Metropolitan Church) invironed it is with the Brinish flouds, saving one small Istmos, which gives free accesse to the Neighbour Townes; by Land on the South side, on the North-west, and North East, two constant Faires‡ are kept for daily traffique thereunto, the forme of this Towne is like a heart, naturally scituated for Fortifications, having two Hills on the frontice part thereof next the Sea, the one well fortified on the superfices thereof, with store of great Artillery well mounted, the other hath a very strong battery built of whole Timber, and filled with Earth, at the descent of the Hill in the extreme poynt thereof betwixt these two strong armes lies a large Cove or Bay, on which the chiefest part of this Town is built, over-topped with a third Hill, all three like over-topping Towers keepe a constant watch to fore-see the approach of forrein dangers, being furnished with a Beacon and lowd babling Guns, to give notice by their redoubled eccho to all their Sister-townes, the chiefe Edifice of this City-like Towne is crowded on the Sea-bankes, and wharfed out

* Maverick. † Connecticut. ‡ Ferries?

with great industry and cost, the buildings beautifull and large, some fairely set forth with Brick, Tile, Stone and Slate, and orderly placed with comly streets, whose continuall inlargement presages some sumptuous City. The wonder of this moderne Age, that a few yeares should bring forth such great matters by so meane a handfull, and they so far from being inriched by the spoiles of other Nations, that the states of many of them have beene spoiled by the Lordly Prelacy, whose Lands must assuredly make Restitutions. But now behold the admirable Acts of Christ, at this his peoples landing, the hideous Thickets in this place were such, that Wolves and Beares nurst up their young from the eyes of all beholders, in those very places where the streets are full of Girles and Boys sporting up and downe, with a continued concourse of people. Good store of Shipping is here yearly built, and some very faire ones: both Tar and Mastes the Countrey affords from its own soile; also store of Victuall both for their owne and Forreinersships, who resort hither for that end: this Town is the very Mart of the Land, French, Portugalls and Dutch, come hither for Traffique.

CHAP. XXI.—Of the Fift Church of Christ gathered at Roxbury, 1631.

THE fift Church of Christ was gathered at Roxbury, scituated between Boston and Dorchester, being well watered with coole and pleasant Springs issuing forth the Rocky-hills, and with small Freshets, watering the Vallies of this fertill Towne, whose forme is somewhat like a wedge double pointed, entring betweene the two foure-named Townes, filled with a very laborious people, whose labours the Lord hath so blest, that in the roome of dismall Swampes and tearing Bushes, they have very goodly Fruit-trees, fruitfull Fields and Gardens, their Heard of Cowes, Oxen and other young Cattell of that kind about 350, and dwelling-houses neere upon 120. Their streetes are large, and some fayre Houses, yet have they built their House for Church-assembly, destitute and unbeautified with other buildings. The Church of Christ here is increased to about 120 persons, their first Teaching Elder called to Office is Mr. Eliot a yong

man at his comming thither of a cheerful spirit, walking unblameable, of a godly conversation, apt to teach, as by his indefatigable paines both with his own flock, and the poore Indians doth appeare, whose Language he learned purposely to helpe them to the knowledge of God in Christ, frequently Preaching in their Wigwams, and Catechizing their Children.

*Mr. Eliot Pastor of the Church of Christ at Roxbury, in New England, much honoured for his labours in the Lord.*

Great is thy worke in Wildernesse, Oh man,
Young Eliot neere twenty yeares thou hast,
In westerne world with miccle toile thy span
Spent well-neere out, and now thy gray hayrs gracest,*
Are by thy Land-Lord Christ, who makes use of thee
To feede his flock, and heathen people teach
In their own Language, God and Christ to see;
A Saviour their blind hearts could not reach,
Poore naked Children come to learne Gods Mind
Before thy face with reverend regard;
Blesse God for thee may these poore heathen blind,
That from thy mouth Christs Gospell sweete have heard,
Eliot thy Name is, through the wild woods spread,
In Indians mouths frequent's thy fame, for why?
In sundry shapes the Devills made them dread;
And now the Lord makes them their Wigwams fly,
Rejoyce in this, nay rather joy that thou,
Amongst Christs Souldiers hast thy name sure set,
Although small gaine on Earth accrew to you,
Yet Christ to Crowne will thee to Heaven soone fet.

CHAP. XXII.—Of the Sixth Church of Christ, gathered at Linn, 1631.

THE Sixth Church of Christ was gathered at Linn, betweene Salem and Charles Towne, her scituation is neere to a River, whose strong freshet at breaking up of Winter filleth all her Bankes, and with a furious Torrent ventes it selfe into the Sea; This Towne is furnished with mineralls of divers kinds, especially Iron and Lead, the forme of it is almost square, onely it takes two large a run into the Land-ward (as most Townes do) it is filled with about one hundred Houses for dwelling; Here is also an Iron Mill in constant use, but as for Lead they have tried but little yet. Their meeting-house being on

* graced?

a levell Land undefended from the cold North west-wind; And therefore made with steps descending into the Earth, their streetes are straite and comly, yet but thin of Houses, the people mostly inclining to Husbandry, have built many Farmes Remote there, Cattell exceedingly multiplied, Goates which were in great esteeme at their first comming, are now almost quite banished, and now Horse, Kine and Sheep are most in request with them, the first feeder of this flock of Christ was Mr. Stephen Batchelor,* gray and aged, of whom as followeth:

Through Ocean large Christ brought thee for to feede,
His wandering flock with's word thou hast oft taught,
Then teach thy selfe with others thou hast need;
Thy flowing fame unto low ebbe is brought.
Faith and Obedience Christ full neare hath joyn'd,
Then trust on Christ, and thou againe mayst be
Brought on thy race though now far cast behinde,
Run to the end, and crowned thou shalt be.

### CHAP. XXXIII.—Of the seventh Church of Christ gathered at Water-Towne, 1631.

THE Seaventh Church of Christ gathered out of this wandering Race of Jacobites was at Water-Towne, scituate upon one of the Branches of Charles River, a fruitfull plat, and of large extent, watered with many pleasant Springs, and small Rivulets, running like veines throughout her Body, which hath caused her inhabitants to scatter in such manner, that their Sabbath-Assemblies prove very thin, if the season favour not, and hath made this great (Towne consisting of 160 Families) to shew nothing delightfull to the eye in any place; this Towne began by occasion of Sir Richard Saltingstall,† who at his arrivall, having some store of Cattell and servants, they wintered in those parts: this Town aboundes in severall sorts of Fish at their seasons, Basse, Shad, Alewifes, Frost fish, and Smelts; their herd of Kine, and Cattell of that kinde are about 450, with some store of Sheepe and Goates, their Land in tillage is neere upon 1800 Acres, this Church is increased to neer about 250 soules in Church-fellowship, their first Pastor was Mr. Phillips, a man mighty in the Scriptures, and very dilligent to

* Bachelor. † Saltonstall.

search out the minde of Christ therein contained, of whom as followeth:

The penury of Wildernesse shall not
  Daunt Phillips, and diswade his undertaking
This Voyage long: for Christ hath made him hot
  With zeal for's truth, thy native soile forsaken
To follow Christ his bannisht flock to feede,
  With restlesse toile thus honour'd Christ hath thee,
Then it maintaine though thou thy people neede;
  Christ would thou shouldst of them aye honoured be,
Till death thou hast been souldier in this War,
  Darke types the shaddows of good things now come,
By thee have been unfoulded very far;
  Cleer'd baptimes light from error broch'd by some.
As by thy worke in Print appeares this day,
  Though thou thy days hast ended on this Earth,
Yet still thou livest in Name and Fame alway;
  Christ thee poore dust doth crowne with lasting Mirth.

[To be continued.]

## NOTICE OF EDWARD JOHNSON,

*From a Discourse delivered to the Congregational Society in Woburn, June* 28, 1869, *at the Dedication of their Meeting-house. By* Joseph Chickering, *A. M. Minister of said Society. 8vo. pp.* 28.

The early records of the town are remarkably full and correct, having been kept for about thirty years, by Capt. Edward Johnson, author of the "Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Saviour, in New England." Capt. Johnson has also, in his history, given a particular account of the early transactions of this church, to which himself belonged, using them as an example to show the general manner of proceeding in the other New England churches. p. 13—14.

He emigrated from the county of Kent, in England, and was among the very early settlers in this country. He was one of the committee chosen by Charlestown church to erect a new church and town, now called Woburn, drew a plan of the town, was chosen recorder, and continued to keep the records until within a little more than a year of his death. Capt. Johnson was also

the first deputy from Woburn to the general court, and continued to represent the town, with little interruption, while he lived. He was appointed by the general court clerk of the writs at Woburn; also one of a committee "to consider some orders, and to put the country in a posture of war;" also, about the time of the restoration of Charles II. one of the committee of twelve, "to consider, and debate such matter or thing of public concernment, touching our patent laws, privileges, and duty to his majesty, as they in their wisdom shall judge most expedient," &c. When a lieutenant, he was sent with captain Cook to Providence, to apprehend Gorton and his rebel band.

As the evidence of captain Johnson's being author of the Wonder-working Providence has been considerd as resting on a tradition mentioned by Judge Sewall to Prince, and recorded by him in the introduction to his chronology, I mention the following circumstances to corroborate it. 1. The very particular account given of Woburn, proves the author to have been particularly interested, and probably an inhabitant of the town. 2. In the 190th page of the history, when enumerating the militia officers in the commonwealth, and eulogizing many of them, the author modestly omits his own name, saying, "the band of Woburn led by another Kentish captain." 3. There is such a similarity of sentiment and expression in some parts of this history concerning Woburn, and in the town records, as affords a presumption, that they were both written by the same hand.

It appears that captain Johnson was not rich, as in a town tax, made just before his death, his part was less than the average part of all the inhabitants. He died April 23, 1672. Many of his descendants now live in Woburn and Burlington. p. 24—5.

EXTRACTS FROM "THE LIFE AND ERRORS OF JOHN DUNTON, LATE CITIZEN OF LONDON; WRITTEN BY HIMSELF IN SOLITUDE," &c. London: Printed for S. Malthus, 1705. 12mo. pp. xviii. 251.

[MR. DUNTON was born at Graffham, in Huntingdonshire, England, 14 May, 1659. He was a son of Rev. John D. rector of G. and was a bookseller of some distinction. In 1685, his affairs requiring him to visit New England, he came to this country, where he spent about eight months. The following extracts are taken from that part of his "Life," which relates to America. "After failing in the business of bookselling, he commenced author. After publishing "The Post-Angel Paper," he began "The Athenian Mercury," which was a plan to answer questions, monthly, proposed by unknown persons; and which was republished by Bell, under the name of "The Athenian Oracle," 4 volumes, 8vo. In 1710, he published his Athenianism, containing 600 treatises, in prose and verse, on all subjects. Though prolix, and sometimes obscure, as a writer, he yet possesses merit as a satirist, and some of this pieces will be read with pleasure. He died about 1725."]

[P. 101, A. D. 1685.] THUS seated to the best advantage, at the Black Raven in Princes-Street, and as happy in my marriage as I could wish, there came an universal damp upon trade, occasioned by the defeat of Monmouth in the west; and, at this time, having 500l. owing me in New England, I began to think it worth my while to make a voyage of it thither. I had no more than just an opportunity to hint the matter to my honoured father-in-law, Dr. Annesly, who was then going for Tunbridge; but immediately after I writ him the following letter:

LONDON, AUG. 7, 1685.

Much honoured sir,

THIS comes to desire your free thoughts of my voyage to New England. I have consulted several friends upon it, who think it the best method I can take. I have a great number of books that lie upon my hands, as the "Continuation of the Morning Exercises," and others, very proper for that place; besides the 500l. owing

have there in debts; however, I won't move without your advice and consent. My dear wife sends her duty t'ye, and we hope the waters agree well with you.

I am your most affectionate
and dutiful Son, J. D.

To this letter I had the following answer:

Dear Son,

I received yours, but cannot give so particular and direct an answer as you may expect. You know I came hither presently after you mentioned this voyage, neither had I an opportunity to consider all the circumstances of it: I perceive those you have consulted, are for it; and they are better able to foresee what may probably be the issue of such an undertaking, than I am or can be. The infinitely wise God direct you, and give wisdom to those that advise you. I do as heartily desire your universal welfare, as any friend you have in the world, and therefore dare not say a word against it. My present opinion is, that you don't (if you resolve upon the voyage) carry too great a cargo; for I think 'twill be the less trouble t'ye to wish there, that you had brought more, than to fret at the want of a market, for too many. If you observe the course of the world, the most of all wordly trouble is through frustration of our expectation; where we look not for much, we easily bear a disappointment. Moderation in all things, but in love to God and serious godliness, is highly commendable; covet earnestly the best gifts, and the best graces, and the best enjoyments, for which you shall never (while I live) want the earnest prayers of

Your most affectionate father,

S. A.

Tunbridge, Aug. 10, 1685.

I was very glad of any excuse, that would make my friends more indulgent to my rambling humour: but to make short of it, I got ready for my voyage with all possible expedition, sent a great number of books down the river to Graves-End, and followed them soon after, having bid a very sorrowful farewell to dear Iris, and my other relations.

At Graves-End, I found the fleet riding that were bound for New England, and procured stowage for my venture in two ships, that Neptune might have two throws at me, to make my ruin compleat. While we staid at Graves-End, I met with my old neighbour, Mr. Thomas Malthus, who attended me to the ship, called the Susannah

and Thomas, bound to Boston in New England, burthen 150 tons, the master's name Thomas Jenner; we had sixteen sailors and thirty passengers that were flying for safety upon the rout at Sedgemore. The wind proved contrary, and forced us to lie a considerable time in the Downs. November the second, we weighed out of the Downs, and made the best of our way for the Beachy.

And now, reader, I am just entering upon the Atlantick Ocean, which is large and wide, and which kept America concealed some thousand years from the rest of the known world. Our captain, Tho. Jenner, was a rough, covetous tarpaulin; but he understood his business well enough, and had some smatterings of divinity in his head. He went to prayers very constantly, and took upon him to expound the Scriptures, which gave offence to several of the passengers. The mate and the boatswain were good sailors, and made it their only study to dispute with tempests.

We had a long debate one day, in the captain's cabin, about a flame which fixed upon our main-mast, near the bigness of a candle, and the seamen called St. Hellin's fire; one of them, they told me, is looked upon as an ill omen, but if two appear, they betoken safety and fair winds. These are usually known by the names of Castor and Pollux; among the Italians, by St. Nicholas and St. Hermes, and the Spaniards call 'em Corpus Santo's.

We were above four months at sea, and at last reduced to that extremity that each of us had no more than the allowance of one bottle of water for four days. When we came within ken of Boston, we were all overjoyed, being just upon the point of starving; we put off to land in the long boat, and came ashoar near the Castle, which stands about a mile from Boston. The country appeared at first like a barren waste, but we found humanity enough when we came amongst the inhabitants. We lodged the first night at the Castle, and next morning we found the way to Boston lay over the ice, which was but cold comfort, after we had been stowed up so many months in a cabin. The air of New England was sharper than at London, which, with the temptation of fresh provisions, made me eat like a second Mariot of Gray's

Inn. The first person that welcomed me to Boston was Mr. Burroughs, formerly a hearer of my reverend father-in-law, Dr. Annesly. He heaped more civilities upon me than I can reckon up, offered to lend me monies, and made me his bedfellow, till I had provided lodgings.

As I was rambling through Boston, I met both with lodgings, and a warehouse at Mr. Wilkin's, whose family deserves as well of me, as any in New England. Being thus fixed, I delivered the letters of recommendation I had brought with me from England. I had one from the Reverend Mr. Richard Stretton, to Mr. Staughton, the deputy governour: and Mr. Morton of Newington-Green, sent another to major Dudley, afterwards president, which, with other letters to the magistrates, had the good effect that I was made freeman of Boston, though very much obliged for it to the friendship of Mr. Burroughs. Immediately upon this captain Hutchinson gave me an invitation to dine with the governour and the magistrates in the town hall. The entertainment was very rich and noble, and the governour, deputy-governour, major Dudley, and the other magistrates gave me a very friendly welcome to Boston, and kindly wished me success in my undertaking.

A particular account of the government in New England would be foreign to my *Life and Errours;* let it be enough to say, the laws in force here, against immorality and profaneness, are very severe. Witchcraft is punished with death, as 'tis well known; and theft with restoring fourfold, if the criminal be sufficient. An English woman, admitting some unlawful freedoms from an Indian, was forced twelve months to wear upon her right arm an Indian, cut in red cloath.

He that trades with the inhabitants of Boston, should be well furnished with a Grecian faith; he may get promises enough, but their payments come late. However, under all the disadvantages of that kind, I was now resolved to run the risk of it, and in order to promote the sale, I made a visit to the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, the metropolitan clergyman of that country, and rector of Harvard College. He is master of a great stock of learning, and a very eminent divine. His

son, the Reverend Mr. Cotton Mather, was then upon finishing his Magnalia Christi Americana, which has lately been published here in England. There is abundance of freedom and familiarity in the humour of this gentleman; his conversation and his writings are living evidences that he has read much, but there are many that won't allow him the prudence to make a seasonable use of it. His library is very large and numerous, but had his books been fewer when he writ his history, 'twould have pleased us better.

I was next to wait upon the Reverend Mr. Willard, minister of the South-Meeting in Boston; he is well furnished with learning and solid notion, has a natural fluency of speech, and can say what he pleases. Afterwards I went to visit the Reverend Mr. Allen, he is very humble and very rich, and can be generous enough, when the humour is upon him. His son was an eminent minister here in England, and deceased at Northampton. Mr. [Joshua] Moody was assistant to Mr. Allen, and well known by his practical writings. Leaving Mr. Allen's house, I went next to visit Mr. John and Mr. Thomas Baily. These two are popular preachers, and very generous to strangers; I heard Mr. John upon these words,—*Looking unto Jesus*, and I thought he spake like an angel. They express a more than ordinary kindness to Mr. Wilkins, my landlord, and (being persecuted in Limerick for their nonconformity) came over with him from Ireland. Reader, I might be large in their character; but when I tell you they are true pictures of Dr. Annesly (whom they count a second St. Paul) 'tis as high as I need go.

The sun being now gone to bed (for though I was up before him, he got to his lodging first) I bid good night to these two brothers, who gave me a hearty welcome to Boston, and assured me of all the service that lay in their power.

Having first paid my visits to the clergy of Boston, and given a character of them, pray give me leave to ask my brethren the booksellers how they do, and that shall be all. For though I know they love to be respected, yet at the same time I am satisfied, that I 'm as welcome

to them as sour ale in summer, for they look upon my gain to be their loss, and do make good the truth of that old proverb, that interest will not lie; but I must begin my addresses to them.

Mr. [John] Usher, your humble servant. This trader makes the best figure in Boston; he is very rich, adventures much to sea; but has got his estate by bookselling; he proposed to me the buying my whole venture, but would not agree to my terms, and so we parted with a great deal of seeming respect.

Mr. Philips, my old correspondent!—'Tis reason I should make you the next visit. He treated me with a noble dinner, and (if I may trust my eyes) is blest with a pretty obliging wife; I'll say that for Sam (after dealing with him for some hundred pounds) he is very just, and (as an effect of that) very thriving. I shall add to his character, that he is young and witty, and the most beautiful man in the town of Boston.

But leaving Philips, I rambled next to visit Minheer Brunning, he is a Dutch bookseller from Holland, scrupulously just, plain in his clothes, and if we will believe the printers in Boston (who are notable criticks in such cases) a most excellent paymaster. Brunning is versed in the knowledge of all sorts of books, and may well be styled a complete bookseller. He never decries a book, because 'tis not of his own printing; there are some men that will run down the most elaborate pieces, only because they had none of their midwifery to bring them into publick view, and yet shall give the greatest encomium to the most nauseous trash, when they had the hap to be concerned in it. But Brunning was none of these; for he would promote a good book whoever printed it; and I found him a man of that great interest, that I made him my partner in printing Mr. Mather's sermon, preached at the execution of Morgan, who was the only person executed in that country for near seven years. From the Dutch, I went to the Scotch bookseller, one Duncan Cambel, he is very industrious, dresses all-a-mode, and I am told, a young lady of a great fortune is fallen in love with him.

Having visited all the booksellers, I will next give an account of what acquaintance I had in Boston. I shall

begin with Mr. Willy, who fled thither on the account of conscience, and (is brother-in-law to the Reverend Mr. Baily) he is a man of a large heart, one who, in relieving others' wants, considers not so much his own ability, as their necessity: this Monmouth's forlorn fugitives experienced often, to whom he was the common refuge. The next I shall mention is Mr. White, a merchant, who by trading has clasped islands to the continent, and tacked one country to another; his knowledge, both of men and things, is universal.———The next was Mr. Green, a printer; I contracted a great friendship with this man; to name his trade, will convince the world he was a man of good sense and understanding; he was so facetious and obliging in his conversation, that I took a great delight in his company, and made use of his house to while away my melancholy hours. Another of my acquaintance was Captain Gery, a man as eminent for his love to his country, as Junius Brutus and the famous Scævola among the Romans.———Another of 'em was George Monk, a person so remarkable, that had I not been acquainted with him, it would be a hard matter to make any New England man believe that I had been in Boston; there was no house in Boston more noted than George Monk's, or where a man might meet with better entertainment; he was so much the life and spirit of the guests that came to his house, that it was almost impossible not to be cheerful in his company. Another was captain Townsend, a gentleman very courteous and affable in his conversation.

I might here ramble to Mr. Jollyff, justice Lines, Macarty, and some others; but least I tire you quite, I will next come to a distinct head, which shall be those of my countrymen that have rambled into this country as well as myself, such of them, I mean, as I came acquainted with in the course of my business: And these were, first, Mr. Mortimer, who came from Ireland; he was an accomplished merchant, a person of great modesty, and could answer the most abstruse points in algebra, navigation, dialling, &c.

The next to these was Mr. King: love was the cause of this gentleman's long ramble hither; sure his mistress

was made of stone, for King had a voice would have charmed the spheres, he sang, *All Hail to the Myrtle Shades*, with a matchless grace, and might be called an accomplished person.

Another acquaintance was Mr. York, he had his soft minutes as well as other men, and when he unbent the bow, for he was very industrious, he treated the fair sex with so much courtship and address, as if loveing had been all his trade.

The next I mention shall be Andrew Thorncomb, bookseller from London, his company was coveted by the best gentlemen in Boston, nor is he less acceptable to the fair sex; for he has something in him so extremely charming, as makes them very fond of his company. However, he is a vertuous person, and deserves all the respect they shewed him. He visited me often in Boston, and I here declare I've a particular kindness for him.

Another acquaintance was Mr. Heath; were I to write the character of a pious merchant, I would as soon take Heath for the exemplar, as any man I know. There are two things remarkable in him, one is, that he never warrants any ware for good, but what is so indeed; and the other, that he makes no advantage of his chapman's ignorance, where the conscience of the seller is all the skill of the buyer; he doth not then so much ask as order what he must pay; and in such cases he ought to be very scrupulous. Bishop Latimer being told he was cozened in buying a knife, No, replied Latimer, he cozened not me, but his own conscience. This person was my daily visiter, and brought me acquainted with one Gore, of New York, with whom I traded considerably.

Mr. Watson shall be the next; formerly a merchant in London, but not thriving there, he left the exchange for Westminster Hall, and in Boston has become as dexterous at splitting of causes, as if he had been bred to it. He is full of fancy and knows the quirks of the law; but to do him justice, he proves as honest as the best lawyer of 'em all.

Another acquaintance is Mr. Mason. He was a blunt, honest Christian; he will speak his mind, take it how you please.

The next I'll mention shall be Mr. Malinson, he is a stiff Independent, (which is rare in a fencer,) and so great a critick, that he would even find a knot in a bullrush. Malinson was one of those unfortunate gentlemen that engaged with Monmouth, and I'm told this day, at the Royal Exchange, he now teaches young gentlemen to fence in Boston.

I was so happy as to find *particular friends* in Boston, whose characters I shall next give you, and I'll begin with Dr. Oakes.—He is an eminent physitian, and a religious man ; at his first coming to a patient he perswades him to put his trust in God, the fountain of health ; the want of this hath caused the bad success of most physitians, for they that won't acknowledge God in all their applications, God won't acknowledge them in that success which they might otherwise expect. He was a great dissenter whilst he lived in London, and even in New England retains the piety of the first planters ; I was recommended to him by Mr. Gilson, as also by a relation of his in Ratcliff, and I must own, the doctor gave me a generous welcome to Boston.—From Dr. Oakes I pass to my good friend Dr. Bullivant, formerly my fellow citizen in London ; I must consider him both as a gentleman and a physitian. As a gentleman, he came of a noble family, but his good qualities exceeded his birth ; he is a great master of the English tongue, and the Northampton people find him a universal scholar ; his knowledge of the laws fitted him for the office of attorney general, which was conferred upon him on the revolution in Boston ; it is true he sought it not, but New England knew his worth, and even forced him to accept of it.

While he held this place of attorney general, he was so far from pushing things to that extremity as some hot spirits would have had him, that he was for accommodating things, and making peace. His eloquence is admirable, he never speaks but 'tis a sentence, and no man ever clothed his thoughts in better words.

I shall next consider him as a physitian, his skill in pharmacy was such as had no equal in Boston, nor perhaps Northampton, he is as intimate with Galen and Hippocrates, at least with their works, as ever I was with

Iris. He is so conversant with the great variety of nature, that not a drug or simple escapes his knowledge, so that he never practises new experiments upon his patients, except it be in desperate cases, where death must be expelled by death. This also is praiseworthy in him, that to the poor, he always prescribes cheap, but wholesome medicines, not curing them of a consumption in their bodies, and sending it into their purses, nor yet directing them to the East Indies to look for drugs, when they may have far better out of their gardens.

I proceed in the next place to Mr. Gouge, a linen draper from London, son to the charitable divine of that name. He is owner of a deal of wit, his brain is a quiver of smart jests. He pretends to live a batchellor, but is no enemy to a pretty woman. He's high church, yet so great a lover of his father's christian directions, that he bought two hundred of me to give away, that so he might, as he used to say, make the Bostonians godly. And this was a noted quality in him, that he would always tell the truth; which is a practice so uncommon in New England, that I could not but value his friendship.

But I must not forget Mr. Tryon. Mr. Tryon is a man of a sweet temper, an excellent husband, and very sincere in his dealings.—The next I shall mention is Mr. Barnes, he was a clerk to the government, a matchless accomptant, a great musitian, bookish to a proverb, very generous to strangers, and at our first interview, declared a particular friendship to me.

About this time arrived the Rose frigot from England, with a new charter, procured by one Randal, which gave major Dudley the title of president, and the magistrates were now changed into counsellors. Parson Ratcliffe came over with the charter, and on Lord's days read the Common Prayer in his surplice, and preached in the Town House.

Mr. Ratcliffe was an eminent preacher, and his sermons were useful and well dressed; I was once or twice to hear him, and it was noised about that Dr. Annesly's son-in-law was turned apostate. But I could easily forgive 'em, in regard the common prayer and the surplice were religious novelties in New England.

To return to my own affairs, the booksellers in Boston perceived I was very diligent to bring custom to my warehouse, and thereupon began to make terms with me for my whole venture, but that would not do for me, because there's the loss of thirty per cent. in the return of their money. The books I had with me were most of 'em practical, and well suited to the genius of New England, so that, my warehouse being opened, they began to move apace. Palmer, my apprentice, was very honest and diligent, took the whole charge of my business off my hands, and left me to ramble and divert myself as my fancy would suggest.

But I must make a transition to arms. It is their custom here for all that can bear arms, to go out on a training day; but I thought a pike was best for a young soldier, and so I carried a pike. And between you and I, reader, there was another reason for it too, and that was, I knew not how to shoot off a musquet, but 'twas the first time I ever was in arms. Being come into the field, the captain called us all into our close order, in order to go to prayer, and then prayed himself. And when our exercise was done, the captain likewise concluded with prayer. I have read that Gustavus Adolphus, the warlike king of Sweden, would before the beginning of a battle kneel down devoutly, at the head of his army, and pray to God, the giver of victory, to give them success against their enemies, which commonly was the event; and that he was as careful also to return thanks to God for the victory. But solemn prayer in the field upon a day of training, I never knew but in New England, where it seems it is a common custom. About three of the clock, both our exercise and prayers being over, we had a very noble dinner, to which all the clergy were invited.

Some time after I took a trip to Newtown, called Cambridge, in regard, it is the seat of Harvard College. This university took its rise from very small beginnings. There were four hundred pounds raised for that purpose, in a court held at Boston, Sept. 8, 1636. But that which put new life into this design about eight years after, was the gift of seven hundred seventy-nine pounds, seventeen shillings, and two pence, in the last will of the

Rev. Mr. John Harvard, after whom it has the name of Harvard College.

The library of this College is very considerable, being well furnished both with books, and mathematical instruments. Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Maynard, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Joseph Hill, were benefactors to it; and the Rev. Mr. Theophilus Gale, left his whole library for that use.

Mr. Cotton, one of the fellows of the College, gave me the invitation to Cambridge, by whose means I sold several books to the students there.

My next ramble was to Roxbury, in order to visit the Rev. Mr. Eliot, the great apostle of the Indians. He was pleased to receive me with abundance of respect, and inquired very kindly after Dr. Annesly, my father-in-law, and then broke out with a world of seeming satisfaction; Is my brother Annesly yet alive? Is he yet converting souls to God? Blessed be God for this information before I die. He presented me with twelve Indian Bibles, and desired me to bring one of them over to Dr. Annesly, as also with twelve speeches of converted Indians which himself had published.

Summer was now well advanced, however my time did not lie much upon my hands, for upon my return from Roxbury, I found several of my friends making ready for a journey to Natick. Every summer there's an Indian Lecture preached there, which has been kept on foot ever since the Rev. Mr. Elliot gathered a church there of the converted natives.

I was glad of the opportunity to acquaint myself with the manners, religion, and government of the Indians. When we were setting forward, I was forced, out of civility and gratitude, to take madam Brick behind me on horseback; it is true, she was the flower of Boston, but in this case proved no more than a beautiful sort of luggage to me.

We had about twenty miles to Natick, where the best accommodations we could meet with, were very coarse. We ty'd up our horses in two old barns, that were almost laid in ruines, however we cou'd discern where they had stood formerly. But there was no place where we cou'd

bestow ourselves, unless, upon the greensward, till the lecture began. The wigwams, or Indian houses, are no more than so many tents, and their way of building 'em is this; they first take long poles, and make 'em fast in the ground, and then cover them with mats on the outside, which they tye to the poles. Their fire-place is made in the middle, and they leave a little hole upon the top uncover'd with the mats, which serves for a chimney. Their doors are usually two, and made opposite to each other, which they open or shut according as the wind sits, and these are either made of mats, or of the barks of trees. While we were making such discoveries as these, we were informed that the sachim, or the Indian king, and his queen, were there. The place, 'tis true, did not look like the royal residence, however we cou'd easily believe the report, and went immediately to visit their king and queen; and here my courage did not fail, for I stept up and kiss'd the Indian queen; making her two very low bows, which she return'd very civilly. The sachim was very tall and well limb'd, but had no beard, and a sort of a horse face. The queen was well shap'd, and her features might pass pretty well, she had eyes as black as jet, and teeth as white as ivory; her hair was very black and long, and she was considerably up in years; her dress peculiar, she had sleeves of moose-skin, very finely dress'd, and drawn with lines of various colors, in asiatick work, and her buskins were of the same sort; her mantle was of fine blew cloath, but very short, and ty'd about her shoulders, and at the middle with a zone, curiously wrought with white and blew beads into pretty figures; her bracelets and her necklace were of the same sort of beads, and she had a little tablet upon her breast, very finely deck'd with jewels and precious stones; her hair was comb'd back and ty'd up with a border which was neatly work'd both with gold and silver.

The Indian government is monarchical, but when the dominions stretch farther than the royal sceptre can well reach, they're govern'd by a viceroy, who is almost as absolute as the prince himself. In matters of difficulty the sachim sits in counsel with his nobles, where their affairs

are sedately weighed, and the prince has a negative voice. Their crown descends always upon the eldest son, and the females don't govern, unless the male line be extinct. The sachim has under him some subordinate governours, or protectors, which supply the places of magistrates and judges; and the common subjects fly to these, when there's any injustice done 'em.

Their nobles are such as are descended from the blood royal; or those to whom the sachim has given titles, with some part of his own dominions; otherwise they are such as have been esteemed so, down a long tract of time.

Their yeomen are those that han't the least signature of nobility upon 'em, and yet are esteemed to have a natural right to protection, so long as they keep 'emselves loyal to their prince, and live within his dominions; they're distinguished by two names, one signifies subjection, and the other a tiller of the land.

They've another class of subjects, which are reckoned something inferiour to the yeomen, and they're either strangers, or the sons of foreigners, whose progenitors came among 'em some time ago; for though they keep no records, yet the tradition that goes current among 'em, is esteemed to be authentick enough. These foreigners are abridg'd of some rights and privileges that belong to common subjects, and are not suffered so much as to attend the prince in hunting, &c. unless they're invited.

The Indian sachims have no other revenue, than presents, which are offer'd at the pleasure of the subject, and these presents are not looked upon as a matter of mere kindness, but as they proceed from a principle of loyalty, and obligation, upon the account of protection, &c.

Sea wrecks, and the skins of all beasts that are slain in water, are royalties that belong to the crown. And the sachim has no necessity for more; in regard, if he makes war, both his subjects and their estates lye entirely at his own disposal; however, this piece of tyranny is carried on by consent, for the sachim don't engage himself in war without the consent of his subjects; and they are usually much averse to it, unless it be upon the last extremity.

There's a sort of grandure, though it don't swell to excess in all the Indian courts. The royal families and their attendants, are well clothed with the skins of moos, deer, beaver, bear, &c. and their tables are richly furnished with flesh, fish, roots, fruits, beans, and berries, which their subjects almost load 'em with, according as they come in season.

'Tis usual in their punishments, for the sachim to whip or put to death with his own hand, unless a mutiny be suspected, and then the sachim sends one of his chiefest warriors, as a private executioner to do the business in secret; but the subjects are wonderfully resign'd to the pleasure of their prince in such cases.

But to return to the thread of history: When we had made our visit to the Indian king and queen, we went to the meeting place where the lecture was preached by Mr. Gookins, upon that subject, "It is appointed unto men once to die; and after that, the judgment." — The doctrine, I remember, was this, that death is the unavoidable lot of all men. Under this proposition he show'd 'em the necessity of dying, and the vast consequences that must follow upon it. The application was full of perswasions to 'em to make a speedy preparation for death, which was supported with the very different motives of happiness or misery in the life to come. The poor Indians were very much affected, and seem'd to hang upon his lips.

The reader may expect I should here give him some account of the religion of the unconverted Indians; and I shall make it as short as I can. The native Indians that are not yet made proselites to the christian faith, are possessed with very odd notions about the Gods, for they believe a plurality of 'em, that made the world, and maintain their propriety over the several nations of it to this day. But among the rest of the Gods, there's one, they say, towards the southwest regions of the heavens, that makes the most considerable figure, and commands in chief. The devil appeared frequently to 'em, at their seasons of worship, and gave them advice about their circumstances and affairs. When they meet with any considerable success, either in hunting or fishing, they

acknowledge God to be the author of it. Upon any disaster, they immediately cry out, God was angry and did it. They make the southwest God to be the great arbiter of souls, from whom they say, their corn and their beans come. They have also, their eastern, western, and their southern Gods, to whom they pay homage and religious worship. And besides these, they have Gods both for their women and their children. I was once with an Indian youth that lay a dying, and he called with abundance of affection and concern upon Muckquachuckquard; and those about him suppos'd this God had appear'd to him, and promis'd him assistance.

They pay divine homage also to several of the creatures, in which they believe some deity to be lodg'd.

When they meet with any excellency in men or women, or any bruit beasts, they immediately cry, Manitoo, it is a God! And when they talk familiarly among themselves, concerning the English buildings, ships, &c. they commonly conclude with Manitoowock, they are Gods.

I was once with an English minister who understood their language, and there were a great number of natives gathered to hear him. The minister put this question to 'em, Who made the world? To this some of them reply'd, Tatta, I can't tell; others said, Manitoowock, the Gods. This gave him occasion to argue with them about the existence of one GOD, and afterwards he ran over the history of creation, and the six days work, and gave them the same account of it which Moses had done. They appeared well satisfied with the gentleman's discourse, and when he had finished, there was an Indian that addressed himself to the sachim who was present, and told him that souls went up to heaven or down to hell, tho' our fathers have inform'd us that they go to the south-west. The sachim ask'd him, whether he had seen some souls go either to heaven or hell? The Indian answer'd, The minister han't seen 'em, and yet he affirms it. Perhaps so, reply'd the sachim, but he has books and writings, and one which God himself made, which treats concerning man's souls; and we have none, you know, but must take all upon trust. We left 'em discoursing matters over thus among themselves.

These Indians have certain priests among them whom they call Taupowauog, and these make speeches to 'em, concerning religion, and peace, and war, and indeed concerning all the occurrences of common life. The salary of their priests depends upon feasts and dances which are very frequent, and upon every such occasion you may see forty, fifty, and sometimes an hundred of their Taupowauogs met together in expectation of gifts; and as they receive 'em they go forth, and hollow thrice, for the health and prosperity of the benefactor.

These priests live very peacefully, and don't approve of persecution for the cause of religion, which has made very much for the settlement and the happiness both of English and Dutch. Their notions about future happiness are very gross; and their heaven is much of the same nature with that which Mahomet has fancy'd for his followers. They believe and teach the immortality of the soul, and say that upon the death of a good man, his mind goes to the house of Kautantowit, where the whole collection of holy souls shall revel out an eternity in the pleasures of sense; but on the contrary, the minds of bad men shall wander for ever, in a restless condition.

As to the creation of mankind, they hold that Kautantowit first shap'd a man and a woman out of a stone, but his performance did not please him, and thereupon he dash'd 'em to pieces. But making a second experiment upon a tree, he succeeded so well, in forming his new couple, that he let 'em alone, and they became the fountains of mankind. But how life was procur'd for 'em, and how the metamorphosis was performed, they have nothing to say. When these priests make a visit to a sick person, they threaten and conjure out the sickness, for they conceive there are many little deities in the body of a man, as in his heart, his lungs, and his pulse; and when any of these divine energies does but please to rouse itself, it can easily expel the distemper from the part over which it presides. But when the part affected is so much out of order and indispos'd, that it becomes unfit for the habitation of the Deity, 'tis thereupon for-

saken, the distemper prevails, and death follows of necessity.

The religion of these unconverted Indians is scarce more heathenish than their way of living. The men make the poor squaws, their wives, do all the drudgery for 'em; as labour in the field, plant, dress corn, and build up their wigwams, whilst they live at ease themselves, and undertake no business, unless it be that of hunting, and they go forth in great numbers, and drive all before 'em. They usually stay upon one place till they've destroy'd all the wood that's near 'em and then they remove their wigwams. They reckon fuel to be one considerable part of their subsistance, and think that other nations are in the same condition with 'emselves; for they say the English came over to 'em because they wanted fuel. Their division of time is by sleeps, moons, and winters; and by lying abroad in the open air, they've made some observations upon the motions of the stars.

These native Indians were lying in this condition when the Rev. Mr. Eliot began to endeavour their conversion, and in a little time after he had learn'd their language, and translated the Bible into their tongue, there were great numbers of 'em, especially about Natick, that were distinguish'd by the name of praying Indians; and I have been an eye-witness of the wonderful success which the gospel of peace has amongst 'em. Their manners became less barbarous, they formed 'emselves into more regular societies, and began to live after the English fashion.

Mr. Eliot reduc'd 'em to the Jewish plan of government, and for that purpose expounded to 'em Exod. 18. And thereupon the converted natives entered into the following covenant:

"We are the sons of Adam, we and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins; but now the mercy of the Lord beginneth to find us out again, therefore, the grace of Christ helping us, we do give ourselves, and our children unto God, to be his people. He shall rule us in all our affairs. The Lord is our Judge; the Lord is our Lawgiver; the Lord is our King; he will

save us; and the wisdom which God has taught us in his book, shall guide us. O Jehovah! teach us wisdom, send thy spirit into our hearts, take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God."

They made severe laws against all prophaneness and immorality, and took great care to abandon poligamy, with which they were formerly overrun.

And now that I have given the most impartial account of the native Indians, I cannot but own their conversion to be one of the greatest wonders of free grace, and one of the greatest conquests of the everlasting gospel. What more agreeable sight, than one who was born a pagan, upon his knees, and there sending up his prayers with abundance of devotion, in the name of the holy Jesus, to the living God? In New England there are six form'd churches of Indians, that are baptiz'd, and eighteen essemblies of catechumens that profess the name of the blessed Jesus.

To return. The Natick lecture was done about four in the afternoon, and we had twenty miles to Boston, so that we were oblig'd to mount immediately, and make the best of our way.

Upon my coming to Boston, I heard that the Rev. Mr. Morton, so much celebrated in England for his piety and learning, was just arriv'd from England, and with him, his kinsman, Dr. Morton, the physitian. Mr. Morton did me the honour to declare he was very glad to see me; and I am sure I was glad to see him; not only as he brought me letters from Iris, but for his own personal worth.

The news of Mr. Morton's arrival was receiv'd here with extraordinary joy by the people in general, and they had reason for it, for besides his being a useful man, in fitting young men for the ministry, he always gave a mighty character of New England, which occasion'd many to fly to it from the persecution which was then raging in London.

I know it would be presumption in me, to draw Mr. Morton's character, yet (being personally acquainted with him) I cannot but attempt something like it. His con-

versation shew'd him a gentleman—he was the very soul of philosophy; the several manuscripts he writ for the use of his private academy, sufficiently shew'd this—he was the repository of all arts and sciences, and of the graces too;—his discourses were not stale, or studied, but always new and occasional, for whatever subject was at any time started, he had still some pleasant and pat story for it; his sermons were high, but not soaring; practical, but not low—his memory was as vast as his knowledge, yet (so great was his humility) he knew it the least of any man—he was as far from pride as ignorance, and if we may judge of a man's religion by his charity, (and can we go by a surer rule?) he was a sincere christian. In a word, Mr. Charles Morton (late of Newington Green) was that pious and learned man, by whose instructions my reverend and worthy uncle, Mr. Obadiah Marriat, was so well qualified for the work of the ministry; to this instance I might add, that Mr. John Shower, and other eminent preachers, owe that fame they have in the world, to his great skill in their education. Mr. Morton having serv'd his generation, according to the will of God, is fallen asleep in New-England, and is there buried by the side of his vertuous wife.

In the same ship with Mr. Morton, came over one Mrs. Hicks, with the valuable venture of her beautiful person, which went off at an extraordinary rate; she marrying a merchant in Salem worth thirty thousand pound.

By this time there were about two thirds of my venture of books gone off, and I was fearful to sell any more at Boston, till the old scores were discharg'd; for besides all the money I had taken, there was about four hundred pound owing me in Boston, and the towns adjacent, at my return from Natick. It began to run in my head, that Mr. Sewel, one of the magistrates in Salem, had invited me thither, and told me, if I sent part of my venture there, he'd do me all the service that was possible, in the sale of 'em; upon these thoughts, I made a journey to Salem.

About two of the clock I reached Captain Marshal's house (which is half way between Boston and Salem) here I staid to refresh nature with a pint of sack and a good fowl.

Captain Marshal is a hearty old gentleman, formerly one of Oliver's soldiers, upon which he very much values himself; he had all the history of the civil wars at his fingers ends, and if we may believe him, Oliver did hardly any thing that was considerable without his assistance; and if I'd have staid as long as he'd have talk'd, he'd have spoil'd my ramble to Salem.

About six of the clock in the afternoon I came to Salem, and found the town about a mile long, with many fine houses in it, and is reported the next town to Boston for trade.

The first person I went to visit in Salem was Mr. Herrick; how kindly he received a poor traveller, whose life he had sav'd at sea, you may easier guess, than I relate.

He went with me to take a ware-house, which I thought stood very conveniently. Having settled that affair, Mr. Herrick gave me a fish-dinner, and fain would have had me lodg'd with him, which I should have accepted, but that Mr. Sewel, the magistrate of Salem, sent me word he should take it unkindly, if I did not make his house my quarters; whereupon I desired Mr. Herrick's excuse, and lay at Mr. Sewel's that night; his entertainment was kind and generous, and had I staid a month there, I had bin welcome gratis.

Reader, to give you Mr. Sewel's character in brief, he is the chief magistrate in Salem, his care is to live so as to be an example to the people; he is the mirror of hospitality, and neither Abraham nor Lot, were ever more kind to strangers.

Having slept well in my new quarters, the next day I went to pay a visit to the ministers of Salem (for you know, reader, they are the greatest benefactors to booksellers) so that my paying them a visit, was but, in other words, to go among my customers. The first I visited was,

Mr. Higgins,* an antient minister; he resembles my reverend father-in-law, both in his person, and *zeal* for religion; all men look on him as a *common father*, and on old age, for his sake, as a *reverend* thing.

* John Higginson. Ed.

He is eminent for learning, humility, charity, and all those shining graces that adorn a minister. His very presence and face puts vice out of countenance; he is now in his eightieth year, (yet preaches every Sunday) and his conversation is a glimps of Heaven. I din'd twice at his house, where he promised me great assistance in my business, and spake of my reverend father-in-law with much respect.

From Mr. Higgins's I went to visit Mr. Noyse, (his assistant); I spent several agreeable hours in this gentleman's company, which I thought no ordinary blessing, for he is all that is delightful in conversation, so easy company, and so far from all constraint, that 'tis a real pleasure to talk with him. He gave me a generous welcome to Salem; and 'tis no lessening to his brother Higgins, to say he is no ways inferior to him for good preaching, or primitive living.

I must also remember the great civilities I met at Salem from Mr. Epes (the most eminent school master in New-England.) He hath sent many scholars to the university in New-England. He is much of a gentleman, yet has not humbled his meditations to the industry of complements, nor afflicted his brain in an elaborate leg, (he cannot kiss his hand and cry, madam, your humble servant, not talk idle enough to bear her company) but tho' a school, and the hermitage of his study, has made him uncourtly, yet, (which is a finer accomplishment) he's a person of solid learning, and does not, like some authors, lose his time by being busie about nothing, nor make so poor a use of the world, as to hug and imbrace it.

But to return to the thread of my history: having disposed of my venture at Salem, parted with Palmer, and committed my Boston affairs to my kind landlord (Mr. Richard Wilkins) I hop'd now in a few days, to take my leave of this New World, and to embark for England; but I see now, when a man is born under a rambling planet, all that he does to fix him at home, does but hasten his travels abroad, for tho' I was now weary of New-England (for 'twas not home, nor was Iris there) yet I had a mind to view a few more of the towns, before I left it.

I was blest with the company of Mrs. Comfort, (my landlord's daughter) in this new adventure.

All things being ready for this Indian ramble, I took my fair one up behind me, and rid to the river that parts Boston from Ipswich, which tho' it be often and usually cross'd in a canoo, yet I rather chose to cross it in a ferry, having my horse with me.

Having cross'd the river, we mounted again, and rid on our way, meeting, as we *rambled along* with two or three Indians, who courteously saluted us, with *What chear Netop? Netop* in the Indian language, signifies *friend.* I returned their salutation and passed on, not without observing that there is a vein of civility and courtesy runs in the blood of these wild Indians, both among themselves, and towards strangers.

The first town we came to was Marvail, which consists only of a few scattered houses, orchards, and gardens; with good pastures and arable land; we here staid for refreshment, and had the luck to see an Indian woman walking by the door, with a child at her back, whom our landlord told us, had not been deliver'd above two days, so that the curse laid upon women of bringeth forth children in sorrow, is mightily moderated to the Indian women, for they have a far more moderate labour, and a more speedy and easy delivery, than most of our European women; which I believe in a great measure is occasion'd by the hardness of their constitution, and by their extraordinary labour in the field, as carrying of mighty burdens, and beating their corn in a mortar, &c. I was hugely amazed at this account of the Indian women; but our landlord stopp'd our wondering, by further telling us that most of the Indian women count it a shame for a woman to complain when she is in labour, and many of them are scarcely heard to groan. It seems 'tis a common thing among them to have a woman merry in the house, and in half an hour's time delivered, and merry again, and within two days abroad (as we saw verified in this Indian woman) and after four or five days at work.

Having left Marvail behind us, we rambled on towards Wenham. When we came to Wenham (which is an inland town, well stor'd with men and cattle) we

paid a visit to Mr. Geery, the present minister of that place.

Wenham is a delicious paradice, it abounds with all rural pleasures, and I wou'd chuse it above all other towns in America to dwell in; the lofty trees on each side of it are a sufficient shelter from the winds; and the warm sun so kindly ripens both the fruits and flowers, as if the spring, the summer, and the autumn had agreed together, to thrust winter out of doors.

'Twere endless to enter on a detail of each faculty of learning Mr. Geery is master of, and therefore take his character in short hand.—The *philosopher* is acute, ingenious and subtle. The *divine* curious, orthodox, and profound. The man of a *majestic air*, without austerity, or sourness; his *aspect* is masterly and great, yet not imperious or haughty. The *christian* is devout, without moroseness or starts of holy frenzy and enthusiasm. The *preacher* is primitive, without the accessional colours of whining or cant; and methodical, without intricacy or affectation, and which crowns his character, he is a man of a publick spirit, zealous for the conversion of the Indians, and of great hospitality to strangers. He gave us a noble dinner, and entertain'd us with such pleasant fruits as I must own Old England is a stranger to.

Taking leave of this generous Levite, we now thought it high time to prosecute our design'd ramble to Ipswich.* But our conversation was interrupted by a friend Indian's overtaking us, who was a going to Ipswich as well as we; and the evening being advanc'd we were glad of his company.

When we came to Ipswich, I would have treated our Indian with a bottle of wine, but he very thankfully refus'd it, and so we parted.

We took up our quarters at Mr. Steward's house (uncle to Mrs. Comfort.) His joy to see his niece at Ipswich was sufficiently express'd by the kind welcome we met with; our supper was a fat-pig, and a bowl of punch, yet I had so great a desire to go to bed, as made it to me a troublesome piece of kindness.

* Which has its name from a town in England.

I rose early the next morning, and having taken a view of Ipswich, I found it a good haven-town; their meeting-house (or church) is built very beautifully, there is store of gardens about it, and good land for tillage.

Mrs. Steward is of a middle size, her face round and pretty, her speech and behaviour gentle and courteous. She's all obedience; the hyacinth follows not the sun more willingly than she her husband's pleasure; her household is her charge, her only pride is to be neat and cleanly, she is both wise and religious; and in a word, whatsoever men may talk of magick, there's none charms like her.—This is the true picture of Mrs. Steward, and if I'd attempt her husband's character, the least I can say of him is, he is so kind a husband, he is worthy of the wife he enjoys, and would even make a bad wife good by his example.

Ipswich is a country town not very large, and when a stranger arrives there, 'tis quickly known to every one; it is no wonder then, that the next day after our arrival, the news of it was carried to Mr. Hubbald,* the minister of the town, who, hearing I had brought to Boston a great venture of learning, did me the honour to make me a visit, and afterwards kindly invited me (and my fellow-traveller) to his own house, where he was pleased to give us a very handsome entertainment. 'Tis no easy matter to give a true character of Mr. Hubbald. The benefit of nature, and the fatigue of study, have equally contributed to his eminence, neither are we less oblig'd to both than himself, for he freely communicates of his learning to all who have the happiness to share in his converse. In a word, he's learned without ostentation and vanity, and gives all his productions such a delicate turn and grace (as is seen in his printed sermons and History of the Indian Wars) that the features and lineaments of the child, make a clear discovery and distinction of the father; yet is he a man of singular modesty, of strict morals, and has done as much for the conversion of the Indians, as most men in New-England.

Having answer'd Mr. Hubbald some questions about the books I had brought over, and shewn him a catalogue

* William Hubbard. Ed.

of them, I took my leave, and returned back with Mrs. Comfort to her uncle Steward's, with whom she staid till I returned from Wonasquam, an Indian town, where I went next.

On the road to Wonasquam, I met an Indian woman, with her face all over blacked with soot, having a very sorrowful look, and quickly after two or three Indian men, in the same black and mournful condition, that had I been alone, it would have frighted me, but having a guide with me, I was well enough: Indeed they all passed by us very civilly, saying only *Ascowequassumummis*, which is in English, *Good morrow to you.* My guide ask'd me if I had ever seen any of those black fac'd Indians before? I told him no, and ask'd him what the meaning of it was? He told me they had some relation lately dead, and that the blacking of their faces was equivalent to the Englishmen's going into mourning for their dead relations. Where there is any Indian dead (continued my guide) they express it by saying he is in black (that is, he hath some dead in his house) and some lay on the soot so very thick, that they clot it with their tears, and this blacking and lamenting they observe divers months, if the person dying be great and publick.

After a long and difficult ramble, we came at last to the Indian town call'd Wonasquam. It is a very sorry sort of a town, but better to come at by land than by water, for 'tis a dangerous place to sail by, especially in stormy weather.

We saw several other mourning Indians in this town; and upon inquiry we found that one of the chief Indians in the town was lately dead, and was to be bury'd that night.

Having never seen an Indian burial, I staid till the solemnity was over, which was thus perform'd.

First the gravest among them wound up, and prepar'd the dead body for the coffin; when the mourners came to the grave, they laid the body by the grave's mouth, and then all the Indians sat down and lamented, and I observ'd tears to run down the cheeks of the oldest amongst them, as well as from little children.

After the dead body was laid in the grave (and in some parts, some of their goods are cast in with them) they then made a second great lamentation: upon the grave they spread the matt that the deceas'd died on, the dish

he eat in, and two of the Indians hung a fair coat of skin upon the next tree to the grave, which (as my guide inform'd me) none will touch, but suffer it there to rot with the dead.

There was nothing else remarkable to be seen in the town, and therefore, as soon as the Indian was bury'd, I return'd back with my guide to Ipswich, and having staid some little time, with my worthy friend Mr. Steward, myself and Mrs. Comfort took our leaves, and made the best of our way for Boston; where we arriv'd to the great satisfaction of my good landlord and his wife.

I had now no more business in New-England, but just to pay a farewell to Mr. Burroughs, (that was so kind to me at my first landing) and so shake hands with Mr. Wilkins (my landlord) his wife, and daughter.

And here I shall first take my leave of Mr. Francis Burroughs, for I wanted till now, an opportunity to thank him for the many civilities he heap'd upon me in Boston; for he not only lent me money (the true touch-stone of friendship) but made me his bed-fellow, got me the freedom of Boston, and was the chief person I advis'd with under any difficulty.

'His person is handsome (I don't know whether he 'knows it or no) and his mind has as many charms; he's 'a man of remarkable chastity, of a great deal of wit, and 'his repartees are so quaint, apposite and genteel, 'tis a 'pleasure to observe how handsomely he acquits himself, 'in the mean time he's neither scurrilous nor prophane, 'but a scrupulous, honest, conscientious man, so that he's 'what we may call a religious-merchant, and (I was going 'to say) he hates vice almost as much by nature as grace.' And this I think is his true character; but I must remember Captain Leg is ready to sail, and I have other farewells to make, and so worthy friend adieu.

I come next to honest Wilkins, my landlord, for I shou'd think myself very unkind, shou'd I leave Boston, without shaking hands with a person I liv'd with near eight months. His person is tall, his aspect sweet and smiling, and (tho' but fifty years old) his hair as white as snow. He was formerly a bookseller in Limerick, and fled hither on the account of conscience. He is a person of good sense, keeps up the practice of religion in his family,

and (upon a nice search into all his affairs) I found it had a general influence on all the actions of his life: he was deservedly chosen a member of Mr. Willard's church, and I do think he's a pious man, if there's such a thing in Boston. But dear sir, adieu, for the wind is fair, and I must be gone; but I leave your company with as much regret as ever I did any earthly blessing.

My next farewell shall be to Mrs. Wilkins my obliging landlady.

'She's a tender wife, a kind mother, and is a woman 'well pois'd in all humours; or, in other words, Mrs. 'Wilkins is a person of an even temper, which render'd 'her conversation more agreeable than those that laugh 'more, but smile less: some there are, who spend more 'spirits, in straining, for an hour's mirth, than they can 'recover in a month, which renders 'em so unequal com-'pany; whilst she is always equal, and the same. 'T 'vertue to know her, wisdom to converse with her, and 'joy to behold her; or (to do her justice in fewer 'words) she is the counterpart of her pious husband, 'who without her, is but half himself.' I might inlarge, but I fear if I write on, I shall lose my passage, and so (kind landlady) adieu.

Having taken leave of the father and mother, my last visit must be to the daughter, and sheer gratitude obliges to this farewell; for you Mrs. Comfort may well take it amiss, if I shou'd forget your favours to me in your father's house, your pleasant company to Ipswich, your assistance when I was ill, and the noble looking-glass you sent my dear, and all this with a world of innocence.

When the ship was ready to sail, I was attended on board by Dr. Bullevant, Mr. Wilkins, Mr. York, Mr. Gouge, Mr. Heath, Mr. Tryon, Mr. Green, and some other of my Boston friends. The captain entertain'd 'em with wine, beer, cyder, and Neats' tongues.

So soon as ever my friends were gone off to shore, our captain order'd all his guns to fire, which were accompanied with huzzas and shouts, and shaking of hats, till we had lost all sight of our friends.

Kind Boston adieu, part we must, tho' 'tis pity;
But I'm made for mankind, and all the world is my city.
Look how on the shore, they hoop and they hollow,
Not for joy I am gone, but for grief they can't follow.

## MR. SEAVER'S LETTER CONCERNING THE ISLANDS OF TRISTAN D' ACUNHA.

*To His Excellency* Earl Caledon, *Governour and Commander in Chief of the Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c. &c.*

Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope, March 1st, 1811.

My Lord,

IN compliance with your lordship's request, I take the liberty of describing the situation and extent of the islands of Tristan d' Acunha, as well as what may be done towards the effectual settlement of the large island.

In December last, when on the coast of Brazil, having fallen in with an American ship, I understood that there was a man on board by the name of Jonathan Lambert, a native of America, who had resolved to establish himself on the large island of Tristan d' Acunha for the purpose of cultivating the soil, and breeding poultry, with other stock, expecting it would be an inducement for vessels passing in that track to touch for refreshments, whenever it might be known. On the 28th January, ultimo, when bound for this place, being in sight of the islands, and a short distance from the north side of the principal one, I determined on despatching the Charles' boat with an officer and crew for the purpose of taking some fresh water: when Mr. Lambert with two other men were found, and reported that they had been landed twenty days. Having been before apprized of Mr. Lambert's resolution of settling himself on this island, I was desirous of rendering him every assistance my capacity would allow. Accordingly, after the necessary water for the Charles was procured, I landed in a deep *cove* on the north side. At a distance of about one quarter of a mile to the westward of the inlet there was a spot of ground Lambert had cleared for a garden: full two acres were laid out in neat beds, with radish and cabbage plants growing in great luxuriance, and more than one inch above the surface. Indian corn, potatoes, and the pumpkin vine, with the water and musk-melon were also above the grouud. In

turning up the ground with a spade, a stratum of black mould appeared, full two feet deep, over a layer of rich reddish clay.

Not six yards from Lambert's cultivated spot, there is a large run of water, which has its source in the mount, meandering towards the sea, then falling abruptly about 50 feet on a shingly beach, and presenting a most beautiful cascade; where it would be practicable, with the assistance of long hose, to lead the water to a boat or launch, in five fathoms depth. Any vessel might be watered (the weather being any ways moderate) in twelve hours, procuring at the same time sufficient quantity of fire wood.

The anchoring ground off the north side of the large island is situated by my observation in latitude 37° 7′ south, and long. 11° 43′ west of Greenwich: the best depth for anchoring without the kelp is about twenty fathoms, black, sandy, oozy bottom, the cascade bearing by compass S. ½ East ¾ mile.

This anchoring ground is in all respects far preferable to the road of Funchal in the island of Madeira, from the circumstance of its being a strait shore; whenever it might blow on the coast so as to cause a sea, it would be practicable for any vessel to fetch clear of the land. The cove within the kelp is eligible for 30 sail of vessels to moor in, open to four points of the compass from N. N. E. to N. N. W. but no sea would ever make in this cove, as almost an entire chain of kelp must prevent the water breaking in with violence. The depth of water is from 10 to 12 fathoms, sand and oozy. The circuit of the large island may be from 15 to 18 miles, rising in an immense cone, equal to the Peak of Teneriffe, and might be seen in clear weather full 30 leagues.

The land fit to be cultivated, from a rough computation, may not be less than from three to four thousand acres, and capable of producing corn, vegetable matter of every description, cotton, hemp, tobacco, the grape vine, with fruit of every kind the climate may be congenial to. The spontaneous grass, herbage and shrubs of the island, without doubt would be good grazing and browsing for black cattle, goats and sheep.

Great quantities of fish are about the islands, of the rock cod, bass, and mackerel kind, with many crayfish. Quantities of kelp, or *gigantic fucus*, as termed by the naturalist, after going through a certain process might be made into *barilla*, which would answer all the purposes, with the elephant oil, to manufacture into soap. Hitherto the islands have been visited by vessels that were in search of seal skins and oil, and have succeeded in procuring great quantities; there are yet many seals, and sea elephants that come ashore in the months of June, July and August, from which last animal oil is extracted. Procuring seal skins and oil, would be an employment at the season, when it would not answer to plant and sow, and would be considerable articles of commerce. As a substitute for empty casks to hold the oil as it might be procured, large tanks could be made at a trifling expense, to hold from 5,000 to 10,000 gallons each, there being enough stone, and in all probability limestone would be discovered; which are the principal materials requisite for making the tanks.

Mr. Lambert expressed to me his desire that I would communicate to your Lordship, that he set out with views which he trusted would be considered by the British Government and the honourable East India Company laudable, and deserving their protection and assistance, in a way that would promote his undertaking, and endeavours to refresh what vessels might be passing in that track of sea. And whenever the sanction of the British Government should be known, they giving him the necessary assistance, he then would most solemnly declare himself allied to that government; and, by permission, display the British flag on the island, reserving to himself always the governourship, provided an equivalent could not be agreed upon.

Permit me to borrow on your lordship's patience, by detaining you a little longer; and soliciting as an agent for Mr. Lambert in this enterprize, (so far as may be compatible with reason, and as your Lordship may conceive the undertaking to merit) a small assistance to return to the island, as my private means will not be sufficient.

A small vessel from 50 to 100 tons to carry from this colony such young, industrious families as may be willing to embark, and any other persons that would be useful in tilling the ground, with a few black cattle, goats and sheep, and such other small necessaries as would conduce to the growth and productions of the island.

Submitting this note to your Lordship's consideration, I have the honour of being with the highest deference,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most devoted humble servant,
BENJAMIN F. SEAVER,
Agent for the proprietors of the
islands of Tristan d' Acunha.

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SOME ORIGINAL PAPERS RESPECTING THE EPISCOPAL CONTROVERSY IN CONNECTICUT, MDCCXXII.*

[*From the very choice and valuable Collection of the late Rev.* JOHN ELIOT, *D. D.*]

To the Rev. Mr. Andrew and Mr. Woodbridge and others, our reverend Fathers and Brethren, present in the Library of Yale College, this 13th of Sept. 1722.

Reverend Gentlemen,

HAVING represented to you the difficulties which we labour under, in relation to our continuance out of the visible communion of an Episcopal church, and a state of seeming opposition thereto, either as private christians, or as officers, and so being insisted on by some of you (after our repeated declinings of it) that we should sum up our case in writing; we do (though with great reluctance fearing the consequences of it) submit to and comply with it: And signify to you that some of us doubt of the validity, and the rest are more fully persuaded of the invalidity of the Presbyterian ordination, in opposition to Epis-

* See Chandler's life of Dr. S. Johnson, p. 27—40, for many interesting particulars concerning this occurrence. ED.

copal: and should be heartily thankful to God and man, if we may receive from them satisfaction herein, and shall be willing to embrace your good counsels and instructions in relation to this important affair, as far as God shall direct and dispose us to it.

TIMOTHY CUTLER,
JOHN HART,
SAMUEL WITTELSEY,
JARED ELIOT,
JAMES WETMORE,
SAMUEL JOHNSON,
DANIEL BROWN.

A true copy of the original.
Testify,
DANIEL BROWN.

LETTER FROM REV. JOSEPH MOSS TO REV. DR. C. MATHER.

DERBY, October 2d, 1722.

Reverend Sir,

I PRESUME, though unacquainted, to humbly ask your advice and help in a matter of great weight and moment, at which we are all amazed and filled with darkness, in our parts of the country; viz. no less than five ordained ministers (all but one of our association of New-Haven) have declared before the trustees of the college, in the library, when many others also were present, that they were fully persuaded that only an Episcopal ordination was valid, and according to divine institution, and therefore in as much as their own ordination was by presbyters only, they esteemed it invalid: three of them said that notwithstanding, they should go on to administer sacraments, &c. as before, for a while waiting for further light; but if they could get no better light than now they had, thought that in time it would come to that pass with them that they should proceed no further to minister at the altar without a reordination by a bishop: two of them pretended to be conscience bound at present to cease all sacred administrations until they had further light, or an Episcopal ordination: the aforementioned three are Mr. John Hart, Mr. Samuel Whittelsey, Mr. James Wetmore. The two abovesaid are Mr. Jared Eliot, Mr. Samuel Johnson. And after these, both the rector and tutor of our college declared themselves for Episcopacy; and that they scrupled communion in sacred things with any other but the

church of England; because of the invalidity of a Presbyterian ordination. I cannot pretend to have set down the very words in which these gentlemen declared themselves: but to this purpose, (though in many more words) they did declare themselves, in the audience of a large assembly of ministers and scholars. Now, reverend and learned sir, two things I crave your advice and help in: 1st, your advice, in what we shall say to the people over whom these gentlemen were ordained pastors;) the people are uneasy and come to us neighbouring ministers for advice, they would choose to have their ministers rather desist their ministry, and have their pulpits free for others that may be obtained, but the ministers, I perceive, are willing to hold their posts still,) what advice shall we give these poor people in their darkness and distress? 2d, I having not read much upon this controversy, should be very glad to have some books that do nervously handle this point, concerning ordination by presbyters; whether good or not? I have according to my mean ability, studied the scriptures upon this point many years past, and have been and now am, most fully satisfied in my own mind, that the truth is on our side, and that there is no difference between a bishop and a presbyter, jure divino, and that there is no such superiour order of church officers as the diocesan bishops are, by divine institution. But it is now a time with us, that we must put on our armour and fight, or else let the good old cause, for which our fathers came into this land, sink and be deserted. I pray, sir, that you would furnish me with some such books, as with most strength of reason and argument, plead our cause; especially in this point, of the validity of Presbyterian ordination, and I shall be very much obliged; and if the books that may be sent come as lent, I will safely and seasonably return them; but if they come as sold (which I rather choose) I will quickly send the money for them. There is at Boston, I suppose, Mr. Jeremiah Atwaters of New-Haven, who is my brother-in-law, and by whom there may be a conveniency of sending to me, or by any of our coasting vessels that come to any of the towns neighbouring to New-Haven. I humbly ask your pardon, sir, that I have been so prolix in my writing, and for my

presumption in requesting such favours from you as above desired, which I dare not have done, to so great a superiour, if it had [not] a reference to the advancement of the kingdom of our great Redeemer for which I know you are evermore greatly concerned, and are always ready to spend and be spent, and in endeavours for its growth and flourishing estate, you have been in labours more abundant than any of us. I subscribe, sir, your very humble servant, and unworthy fellow-labourer in the gospel,

JOSEPH MOSS.

LETTER FROM REV. JOSEPH WEBB TO REV. DR. C. MATHER.

Fairfield, Oct. 2, 1722.

Reverend and honoured Sir,

THE occasion of my now giving you the trouble of these few lines is to me, and I presume to many others, melancholy enough. You have perhaps heard before now, or will hear, before these come to hand, (I suppose) of the revolt of several persons of figure among us unto the church of England. There's the Rev. Mr. Cutler, rector of our college, and Mr. Daniel Brown, the tutor thereof. There are also of ordained ministers, pastors of several churches among us, the Rev. Messieurs following, viz. John Hart of East Guilford, Samuel Whittlesey of Wallingford, Jared Eliot of Kennelworth, [Killingworth] Samuel Johnson of West-Haven, and James Wetmore of North-Haven. They are the most of them reputed men of considerable learning, and all of them of a virtuous and blameless conversation. I apprehend the axe is hereby laid to the root of our civil and sacred enjoyments; and a doleful gap opened for trouble and confusion in our churches. The churchmen among us are wonderfully encouraged and lifted up by the appearance of these gentlemen on their side. And how many more will, by their example, be encouraged to go off from us to them, God only knows. It is a very dark day with us; and we need pity, prayers and counsel. And I am humbly of opinion that the churches and pastors in your colony are concerned, (though something more remotely) as well as we, in the present threatenings of Divine Providence: and I cannot but hope some measures will be concerted by

yourselves in this juncture for the preservation of the good old cause, so signally owned by God, and witnessed unto by the practice and sufferings of so many eminent ministers and christians. There is with you the advantage of age, learning, experience, books, &c. and therefore we cannot but earnestly desire your assistance in all that is proper on the sorrowful occasion. As for the gentlemen who have declared themselves in favour of the church, some of them declared themselves much in doubt about the validity of Presbyterian ordination; others of them have (if I remember right) declared their satisfaction as to the invalidity thereof. As to this we value them not so much, as long as Acts xx. 17—28; Phil. i. 1; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 3, and other texts are a part of holy scripture; though I should be glad of the help of some good arguments used by those who are skilled in the controversy, and have acted well therein. But if our antagonists should not be able to answer what may be alleged from scripture, &c. concerning the power of presbyters to ordain, they will, I conclude, allege that the ordinations among us were not Presbyterian, because several pastors in our colony in the more ancient days of it were ordained by laymen, and those pastors so ordained have acted in the later ordinations among us. This the churchmen among us improve, and fling every now and then about the leather mitten that was laid on the head of the Rev. Mr. Israel Chauncy of Stratford, many years since deceased, by one of the brethren acting in his ordination. It is also suggested, that the Rev. Mr. Andrew of Milford was ordained by laymen, in a part at least. What there is of truth in it I cannot tell. I heard nothing of this latter instance till within about the compass of a week ago. And as to what is alleged relating to the Rev. Mr. Chauncy of Stratford, deceased, I heard nothing thereof (that I remember) till many years after my ordination. I know the Rev. Messieurs Chauncy and Andrew abovesaid were actors in my ordination, together with the Rev. Mr. Walker of Woodbury, deceased. What led those eminent men, who first settled the country, to allow laymen to act in such an affair, is not for me to say. But what I would in this case is, how we shall be able to justify

ourselves if this article be insisted on by our antagonists. The notion of these ordinations by laymen will, I fear, do us more damage than all the arguments that can be brought for the necessity of Episcopal ordination. Our condition I look upon, as very deplorable and sad. Please to communicate the contents of my letter to your venerable and honoured father, and to as many of the ministers of Boston, &c. as you judge meet. And let me (though unworthy) have, as soon as may be, what comfort, light and strength is needful in our sad circumstances, from as many of you as will please to engage in the cause. Thus desiring an interest in your prayers for us, I subscribe,

Reverend and honoured sir,
your humble servant,
JOSEPH WEBB.*

[FROM A MS. IN THE HAND WRITING OF REV. COTTON MATHER, D.D. AND SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN SENT TO THE BRETHREN IN CONNECTICUT.]

THE sentiments of several ministers in Boston, concerning the duty of the distressed churches, with relation to their pastors, who, in an instrument under their hands, have publickly declared, that they, some of them, *doubt the validity*, others of them *are fully persuaded of the invalidity* of the presbyterian ordination.

It plainly appears,

I. These new Episcopalians have declared their desire to introduce an usurpation and a superstition into the church of God, clearly condemned in the sacred scriptures, which our loyalty and chastity to our Saviour, obliges us to keep close unto; and a tyranny, from which the whole church, which desires to be reformed, has groaned that it may be delivered.

II. They have had the temerity and presumption to deny the ministry and renounce the communion of all the Protestant churches in the whole world, except that little party that submits to the English episcopacy. Such a schism do they run into.

* Another valuable letter on this subject is mislaid, which the present committee greatly regret. If found, it shall be inserted in an after part of the volume. ED.

III. The scandalous conjunction of these unhappy men with the papists is, perhaps, more than what they have themselves duly considered. For, first, the great and almost the last clamour with which the papists try to perplex and weaken the reformed churches, is, that their ministry is invalid for want of Episcopal ordination. These men strengthen the common enemy in the boundless mischief attempted by this foolish cavil. Secondly, even those defectively and imperfectly reformed churches in England and Ireland found it necessary to decry the necessity of Episcopal ordination, at their first coming out of Babylon. They did it generally, notoriously, authentically, or they could not have shaken off the mother of harlots. God forbid, that we should be such grievous revolters, as to go back from what the very dawn of the reformation arrived unto! Thirdly, to maintain their episcopal ordination they set up that vile, senseless, wretched whimsey of an uninterrupted succession, which our glorious Lord has confuted with such matters of fact, that it is amazing the builders of Babel are not ashamed of it; and they will have none owned for ministers of Christ in the world, but such as antichrist has ordained for him; such as the paw of the beast hath been laid upon, them that they pretend a succession from. Do not those men worship the beast, who allow no worship in the church but by them who have their consecration legitimated by a derivation through the hands of the beast unto them? Finally; it is well known that at this day, the men who are well-willers to the claims of a popish pretender, are the main assertors of the Episcopal ordination being essential to their christian priesthood: and the most violent and signalized assertors of this paradox are such as decry the happy revolution, which every sincere Protestant, and honest and sober Englishman must be a friend unto. Will these men unite with such adversaries! To their assembly, O my soul, be not thou united!

IV. They have cast a vile indignity upon those burning and shining lights, the excellent servants of God, who were the leaders of the flocks that followed our Lord Jesus into this wilderness, and upon the ministry of

them and their successors, in which there has been seen the power and blessing of God for the salvation of many thousands in the successive generations, with a success beyond what any of them, who set such an high value upon their Episcopal, ordination, could ever boast of. A degenerate offspring have declared these men of God, than whom the world has rarely been illuminated with brighter stars, to be no true ministers of Christ, but usurpers of the ministry and invaders of a sacred office, robbers that have not entered in by the door. They have also treated with the utmost contempt the glorious cause and work of God, by which the churches of the Lord in this country have been so remarkably distinguished, and encouraged the posterity of our faithful predecessors to shake off the faith and order of the gospel, which was the main end that the country was planted for.

V. They have done what is likely to throw the churches of the country into disturbance and confusion, beyond any thing they have ever yet met withal, and animate an ungodly generation to set up a lifeless religion and an irreligious life, in the room of that which has hitherto been our glory.

VI. They have rashly done all this, before they have used the most proper means to obtain the light which they pretend they are looking for. They have not read many of the most enlightening treatises and they have not once addressed, so much as by writing to them, those persons, for their satisfaction, who are, of all, the most capable of enlightening them.

VII. It may be some of the churches are not satisfied, what these gentlemen intend by waiting for further light.

VIII. In the mean time it is to be doubted, how they can lawfully and honestly go on with their pastoral administrations, and keep on good terms with the last words in the fourteenth chapter to the Romans: inasmuch as it is affirmed, that those of them whose doubts had made the least impression on them, yet professed, that if the doubts which they now have should continue unremoved, they could not go on with the exercise of their ministry.

IX. The offence which these backsliders have given to all the churches has been such, that the particular churches

to which they belong may, and should make them sensible, that they are greatly offended at them: and we see not why the flocks may not as much decline the owning of them for their ministers, as they themselves question the validity of their ministry. The churches, by continuing to acknowledge the pastoral relation and oversight of these men, may give them greater opportunities to produce and increase [insidious] parties among them, than they may be at first well aware of.

X. Nevertheless, and after all, we have not heard all that these gentlemen have to say for themselves. And we ought to do nothing rashly: the peace of God, also, in the utmost expressions of reasonable charity should rule on such occasions; and we cannot watch too much against the wrath of man, insinuating on such occasions, which will not work the righteousness of God. It is likewise to be remembered, that none of these men were ordained without a council of churches, to countenance their introduction into the ministry. It seems therefore necessary, that the churches which withdraw from the ministry of the men, that have so disappointed them, and disobliged them, should have some countenance and assistance and instruction from a council of churches for what they have to do in this lamentable affair. But the councils ought to be so chosen, that the churches may reasonably expect impartial proceedings in them: and therefore the choice had not best be limited by such prudential rules of vicinity, as might be agreed when there were no such extraordinary occasions to be imagined. Perhaps the General Court may see cause, upon these awful and grievous and threatening occurrences, to nominate a very large council of churches, to consider what may be the duty of the day, especially for those churches that are more immediately now encumbered.

May the glorious Head of the church, whose name is the Counsellor, graciously grant his counsel to his people, that they may let no men take away their crown; but may faithfully preserve his institutions.

## A FAITHFUL RELATION OF A LATE OCCURRENCE IN THE CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

[*Not very candid or temperate, if faithful.* ED.]

NEW-ENGLAND has lately had in it an occurrence, that has been a matter of some surprise, and much discourse unto the country.

The colony of Connecticut being willing to have their churches well supplied, from an education in the principles which moved their predecessors to settle in those parts of the world, erected not long ago a college at New-Haven. This little college or collegiate school, which wears the name of Yale College, was lately so unhappy as to borrow a pastor of a church at Stratford, whose name is Mr. Timothy Cutler, for a rector. This man was a secret Episcopalian, of such high flights that he looks upon his Presbyterian ordination as a nullity; and the acts of his ministry as invalid; and his invitation to the rectorate of that collegiate school, was the more agreeable to him for its delivering him from a ministry which he took to be a cheat: it also gave him an opportunity privately to destroy the principal intention of the academy, and blow up the churches which he appeared a friend unto. He privately for some time carried on a conversation with several young ministers of the neighbouring churches, whose frequent meetings at his house were what the people knew not what interpretation to put upon. At last, by a strange coincidence of several circumstances, the plot broke out sooner, than it is thought they would have had it; for on September 13th, the day after their commencement, these men appeared in the publick library before the trustees of the college, and many other ministers; and there exhibited a short instrument wherein they declared, that some of them doubted the validity, and others of them were fully persuaded of the invalidity of their Presbyterian ordination: signed by Cutler the rector, and Brown a tutor of the school; and five more that were young ordained pastors of churches in the neighbourhood. The trustees were very much distressed on an occasion so un-

expected, and so likely to be attended with a train of unhapppy consequences: but they treated the men with all the charity, and lenity, and forbearance that the case would possibly admit of. Nevertheless, the action and apostasy of these men has caused a considerable commotion in the minds of the people, not only in the churches more immediately betrayed, but also through all the country.

It has appeared marvellous unto them, that a little knot of young men that had read very little of the controversy, but only a few Episcopalian things which their library at New-Haven had been unhappily stocked withal, with little or nothing of the antidote, (and indeed the most that the poor children have to subsist upon is the pretended epistles of Ignatius, which yet, if they were not impostures, would be of no service to them!) that these young men should have the temerity and presumption to declare for an usurpation in the church of God, so clearly condemned in the holy scriptures; which it is the profession and endeavour of those churches to keep close unto; yea, and thereupon to deny the ministry and renounce the communion of all the protestant churches in the world, except that little party that submits to the English Episcopacy! It has amazed them to see the sons of New-England strengthen and assist the common enemy, by coming into the great, and almost the last clamour with which the papists are trying to weaken and perplex the reformed churches, and that when it is notorious, that the whole body of our first reformers at their coming out of Babylon, decried the necessity of an Episcopal ordination, and found that they could not shake off the mother of harlots, without their doing so: they should in such a country go back from what the very dawn of the reformation arrived unto!

It has caused some indignation in them, to see the vile indignity cast by these *cudweeds* upon those excellent servants of God, who were the leaders of the flock that followed our Saviour into this wilderness; and upon the ministry of them, and their successours, in which there has been seen for more than fourscore years together, the power and blessing of God for the salvation of many thousands in the successive generations; with a success be-

yond what any of them which set such an high value on the Episcopal ordination could ever boast of! To vilify this as an invalid ministry; for a degenerate offspring to declare those men of God, and those burning and shining lights, to be no true ministers of Christ; but invaders and intruders upon a sacred office; and robbers that have not entered in by the door; they cry out upon it, Good God, unto what times hast thou reserved us!

That which very much adds to the concern on the minds of the good people, is, that such high flyers as these, who derive their ordination from Rome, do generally discover themselves too well affected unto a popish pretender, and enemies to the happy revolution: and though of late several conversions to high church have been made among their children, wherein to their honour, the great converter has been a foolish and sorry toy-man, who is a professed Jacobite, and printed a pamphlet to maintain that the God whom king William and the churches there prayed unto, is the devil!—(horresco referens!) yet they commonly lament it, that the church rarely gains a proselyte, but king George loses a subject.

It is a sensible addition, unto their horrour, to see the horrid character of more than one or two, who have got themselves qualified with Episcopal ordination, to fortify little and wretched parties, in disturbing the churches of New-England, and come over as missionaries, perhaps to serve scarce twenty families of such people, in a town of several hundred families of christians, better instructed than the very missionaries: to think, that they must have no other ministers, but such as are ordained, and ordered by them, who have sent over such tippling sots unto them: instead of those pious and painful and faithful instructers which they are now blessed withal! The churches treat these new invalids with much civility, and such as can go on in their ministry they allow to do so. But the spirit of the country, and their zeal for the pure and undefiled religion and profession of their fathers, has been so conspicuous on this occasion; and the folly of the deserters has been so manifest unto all men (and unto some of themselves) that they will proceed no further. The apostasy

will stop here ; and what has happened, will strongly serve to the establishment of the churches, and the abettors of these disorders may spare any further pains for the furnishing of the country with such missionaries. Nor will they be received there by any but a few people of such a character as will be no great honour either to christianity, or to the church of England.

Since the writing of this faithful relation, a letter from a very eminent person in the government of Connecticut, dated Nov. 9, 1722, has these passages:

'The endeavours of the trustees of the college have 'been so far succeeded, as to remove the scruples of those 'ministers, who had entertained some about their ordina- 'tions ; so that we have a prospect of peace in the churches 'they were set over, and that they may go on in the work 'of the ministry with hope of success. We are not with- 'out hopes, that what had so fearful a tendency to the pre- 'judice of that gospel-order, which the churches here 'have from the beginning observed, may rather tend to 'their confirmation therein.'

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## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF BROOKLINE.

*Extracted from a discourse, delivered there, 24th November, 1805, the day, which completed a century from the incorporation of the town, with alterations and additions.* By* JOHN PIERCE, *A.M. S.H.S. The fifth minister of Brookline.*

BROOKLINE lies westerly from Boston, about four miles in a straight line from the old state-house.

It is bounded on the north by Brighton ; on the west by Newton ; on the south by Roxbury ; on the east by Roxbury and by Charles-river bay, which separates it from Boston.

It belonged to Suffolk county, till the year 1793, when, on the division of this county, it became a part of Norfolk.

* The text was from Exodus xii. 14, "This day shall be unto you for a memorial."

The name,* originally given by our ancestors to this town, was Muddy-river.† It was thus denominated from the stream which is one of its eastern boundaries.

This town appears to have formed a part of Boston from its first settlement. For so early, as 1633, the following account is given of it in a book, entitled New England's Prospect.‡ "The inhabitants of Boston, for their "enlargement, have taken to themselves farm houses in "a place called Muddy-river, two miles from their town,§ "where is good ground, large timber, and store of marsh "land and meadow. In this place they keep their swine "and other cattle in the summer, whilst the corn is on the "ground at Boston; and bring them to town in the win-"ter."

By the records of Boston it appears, that special privileges were early granted in this place to the poor. For the first mention, they make of it, is in a vote,‖ taken in the year 1635, by which it is ordered, "that the poorer "sort of inhabitants, such as are members, or likely so to "be, and have no cattle, have their proportion of allot-"ments for planting ground, laid out at Muddy-river by "the aforenamed five persons; those, that fall between "the foot of the hill and the water, to have four acres upon "a head, and those farther off to have five." This privilege was to continue three years.

Agreeably to this resolve, there are recorded the names¶ of one hundred and two persons, who received their portion of acres according to the numbers, of which their families respectively consisted, and according to the part of the town, they occupied. That a large proportion of these emigrated hence, it is probable from this considera-

* By what name it was formerly known to the Indians, whether it were a part of Nonantum, now Newton, or of Shawmut, now Boston, whether it were connected by them with any neighbouring town, or had a distinct name, the author, after the most industrious researches, has been unable to ascertain.

† The first historical notice, I find of it, is in Gov. Winthrop's Journal, under the date of the 30th of August, 1632, where he speaks of ten Sagamores and many Indians, assembled at Muddy-river. The governour sent an officer with twenty musketeers to discover their object; but they were dispersed, before his arrival.

‡ Page 44.

§ Meaning in a direct line across the water, over which they generally used to pass in boats, when they came to their farms in this place.

‖ See Boston records, Vol. I. p. 4, 5.

¶ For these consult the index to Vol. I. of the Boston records.

tion, that but ten, who bear these names, are now living in the town, and that four of these are not natives of the place.*

In the year 1639, "it was agreed" by the government of this commonwealth, "that five hundred acres be laid "out at Muddy-river for perpetual commonage to the "inhabitants there and the town of Boston, before any "other allotments are made."† This was all however gradually alienated by subsequent grants.‡

The latter part of this year, the boundary line between Boston and Roxbury, at Muddy-river, was amicably adjusted by a committee from each town; and the next year, 1640, by the same process, the limits between this place and Cambridge, which then comprehended Cambridge, Brighton, and Newton, were settled in the same harmonious manner.§

At peace with their neighbours, the inhabitants of this place remained in quiet connexion with their parent town, till the year 1686. By reason of the inconvenience of attending business within the peninsula, they then petitioned the general court, and obtained leave, to manage their own affairs by men, chosen from among themselves, and to be exempt from rates to the town of Boston. The conditions were, that they should support their own expenses; and "within one year erect a school, and provide "an able reading and writing master."‖

At their next meeting, the inhabitants of Muddy-river voted their acceptance of this grant and compliance with its conditions.¶ At the same time they made provision for the maintenance of a schoolmaster. It is therefore probable, that, in the true spirit of our New England ancestors, they thus early attended to the instruction of youth, though, at this period, there is an interruption in our records for a series of years.

* The present natives of the town, who bear the names of the first settlers, are Davis, Griggs, Harris, Jackson, Winchester, and White.

† See records in the secretary's office.

‡ See Boston records, Vol. I. passim.

§ See records in the secretary's office.

‖ For this and all other information relating to the incorporation of Brookline, see a bundle of documents, on file in the secretary's office of this commonwealth, under the date of 1705.

¶ See Brookline records, Vol. I. p. 3.

While providing for their comfortable subsistence and for the education of their children, we are not to suppose, that they were inattentive to religious institutions. They subjected themselves to great inconveniences, before they could erect a house of worship, in uniting with a neighbouring society. Tradition informs us, that they regularly assembled with the first church in Roxbury; and by the records of that church it appears, that they were admitted, on equal terms with its own members, to partake the benefit of gospel ordinances and institutions.

In the year 1698, when the committee, chosen by the town of Roxbury to seat the people in the meeting house, were about to meet, they requested a committee from the inhabitants of Muddy-river to sit and act with them.* At this meeting, it was unanimously agreed, that the inhabitants of Muddy-river should enjoy a right to the fifth part of the said meeting house, they paying a fifth part of all the past and present charges, which did arise from repairing the same. To this condition they readily assented; and they continued ever after peaceably to unite in the publick worship of God, till a house was erected in this place.

Unconnected in a great degree with Boston, separated from it by water and an intervening town, and not meeting with it for municipal or religious purposes, the inhabitants of this village came at length to feel no bond of union with their parent town. Besides these circumstances, the increase of their numbers and wealth imboldened them to seek a complete separation.†

Accordingly in March, 1701, they requested the consent of Boston for reasons, which they specify, "to be a "district or hamlet separate from the town."†

Instead of granting their request, the inhabitants of Boston rigorously exercised over them all the authority, they possessed.†

Finding their application to Boston ineffectual, they resolved to apply to still higher powers. They therefore, in June 1704, petitioned the governour, council, and assembly, "that they might be allowed to be a separate village."†

On this, the inhabitants of Boston had several meetings, warmly remonstrated against the petition, and represented

* See Brookline records.
† See aforementioned documents in the secretary's office.

the request, as highly ingrateful in this people, after having experienced so many favours.* Their petition was at this time rejected.

They however persisted in their request; and, in the summer of 1705, presented a petition † to be incorporated, signed by thirty two freeholders.

"*TO his Excellency the Governour, Council, and Assembly in General Court convened, The humble petition of the inhabitants of Muddy-river showeth,*

"That at a session of this honourable court held at Boston, on the 13th day of August, 1704, the said inhabitants exhibited their humble petition, praying that the said Muddy-river might be allowed a separate village or peculiar, and be invested with such powers and rights, as they may be enabled by themselves to manage the general affairs of the said place. Which petition has been transmitted to the selectmen of the town of Boston, that they may consider the same; since which your humble petitioners not having been informed of any objection made by the town of Boston aforesaid, we presume, that there is no obstruction to our humble request made in our petition.

"Wherefore we humbly beseech your excellency, that this honourable court will be pleased to proceed to pass an act for the establishing of the said place a separate village or peculiar with such powers as aforesaid, and your petitioners shall ever pray,

Samuel Sewall, jun.
Thomas Gardner
Benjamin White
Thomas Stedman
John Winchester
Samuel Aspinwall
Eleazer Aspinwall
William Sharp
Edward Devotion
Josiah Winchester, jun.
John Ellis
John Winchester, jun.
Thomas Woodward
‡ Holland
‡ Gardner, jun.
Joseph White
Josiah Winchester
John Devotion
Joseph Gardner
Thomas Stedman, jun.
John Ackers
Joshua Stedman
Thomas Gardner, jun.
Ralph Shepard
Abraham Chamberlain
Peter Boylston
John Ackers, jun.
William Ackers
Benjamin White, jun.
Caleb Gardner
John Seaver
Henry Winchester."

* See aforementioned documents in the secretary's office.
† There is no date to the petition.
‡ These christian names, being at the bottom, were worn off. See documents in the secretary's office.

This petition, having passed through the various readings both in the assembly and in the council, was finally granted; and the signature of the governour incorporating it, as a distinct town, by the name of BROOKLINE, was obtained, on the thirteenth of November, O. S. 1705. They were "enjoined" by the act "to build a meeting "house, and to obtain an able, orthodox minister, accord-"ing to the direction of the law, to be settled among them "within the space of three years."* But so small were their numbers, and so moderate their circumstances, that they were not able to comply with this injunction.

It is supposed, that the town was called Brookline, not from Brooklyn in England; but from the circumstance, that Smeltbrook, which runs by Sewall's farm, so called, is a boundary line between this town and Cambridge; and that another brook, which falls into Muddy-river, is a boundary between this town and Roxbury.

Judge Sewall, in his manuscript journal, speaks of this place by the name of *Brooklin* long before its incorporation. He calls it so as early, as 1687, and often uses it in other parts of his journal, before 1705.

It was not customary, when this town was incorporated, to engross acts of incorporation on parchment. Of course, no such record of this town is to be found in the secretary's office of this commonwealth.

But by an endorsement on the petition there lodged, it is expressly stated, that it was incorporated by the name of Brookline.

In the copy of the act, which the secretary was directed to send to Brookline, in the records of this town, it is spelt in the same manner.

These facts are sufficient forever to settle the long contested and variously decided question respecting its orthography.

It is a common tradition, that, previously to the incorporation of Brookline, the eastern boundary of this place was Muddy-river to its source; and that, when this town was incorporated, through the influence of Gov. Dudley

* See "a copy of Brookline's grant," which was sent to this town by the secretary of the commonwealth, and which may be found in Brookline records. Vol. I. p. 13.

in favour of Roxbury, where he lived, the boundary was moved back from Muddy-river, where it ought to be, to the brook, which now forms it.

But, when a man is unpopular, nothing is more common, than to allege against him charges, which cannot be supported.

By old deeds in possession of those, who now live between Muddy-river and Brookline, it appears, that the territory between these two places was known by the name of Roxbury precinct, long before the incorporation of Brookline. This precinct is in repeated instances said to be bounded on the east by Muddy-river.

In an old deed of eighteen acres, given in 1675, twenty seven years before Gov. Dudley came to the chair, this land is said to be in Roxbury, and to be bounded on the northwest by the dividing line, which separates Roxbury from Boston. From the land described, this line is known to run up the lane, which passes by the engine house, in a southwesterly direction, and which is now the boundary between Roxbury and Brookline.*

In May, 1780, the town of Brookline was surveyed, and found to contain 4416 acres.†

In the year 1709, they sent their first representative‡ to the general court.

It was not till the tenth of November, O. S. 1714,§ nine years after the incorporation of the town, that their first meeting house‖ was raised.

In the February previous to this, a committee of the general court, in consequence of a petition from this town, having viewed the several places, proposed by the inhabitants, unanimously approved of the spot for erecting a house of worship.¶

The covenant was read in publick, and this church was gathered, 26 October, 1717, by the Rev. Mr. Thayer of the second church in Roxbury. At that time,

* See old deeds in the hands of Capt. Wyman and others in that vicinity.
† See Town records. ‡ John Winchester.
§ Samuel Sewall junior's manuscript journal.
‖ The vote to build it passed, 2 December, 1713. Town records.
¶ See records in the secretary's office. It appears, there was some division of opinion among the inhabitants respecting the most convenient place. But we hear of no dissatisfaction, after the report of the court's committee.

seventeen males and twenty two females were united in church fellowship.*

On the twenty first of November, in the same year, the burial ground was located.†

A fast‡ was observed, on the twenty third of July, 1718, to seek divine direction in the ordination of a minister.

On the fifth of November, in the same year, the reverend James Allen,§ a native of Roxbury, was ordained the first minister of this church and people.‖

The character of Mr. Allen, as given by his contemporaries,¶ and by persons of this society, who yet remember him, is that of a pious and judicious divine. The seven miscellaneous sermons now extant, which were published during his life, do equal honour to his head and his heart.**

* Brookline church records. † Town records.

‡ The Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather and the Rev. Dr. Colman of Boston officiated on the occasion. Judge Sewall's manuscript journal.

§ He was graduated at Harvard University, 1710.

‖ The Rev. Mess'rs. Wadsworth and Colman of Boston prayed. Dr. Cotton Mather of Boston gave the charge. The Rev. Mr. Shepard of Lynn, whose daughter Mr. Allen afterwards married, gave the right hand of fellowship. It is probable, Mr. Allen himself preached the sermon, as was the custom of those times. Church records.

¶ The only survivor, who joined the church in Mr. Allen's day, is Mr. Elhanan Winchester, now living in Newton, aged about 86 years. He became a member, 11 December, 1737. He is the father of the late Elhanan Winchester, who was born in Brookline, 1751, and who, without an academical education, commenced a baptist preacher, and gathered the church of this denomination in Newton. Afterwards he became an itinerant preacher of the doctrine of restoration in various parts both of England and America. He published several volumes on this subject; and died at Hartford, in Connecticut, 1797. His system is a close imitation of the late Dr. Chauncy's and others. [His father became in fine a shaker, and died at Harvard, in September, 1810, Æt. 91. So that he was first a congregationalist, then a new-light, then a baptist, then a universalist, and at last a shaker. It is said, that he declared on his death-bed, "In every other denomination I have had my doubts; but now I am sure, that I am right."]

** Mr. Allen's printed discourses are,

I. A Thanksgiving sermon, "What shall I render," from Psalm cxvi. 12. 8 Nov. 1722.

II. "The wheels of the world governed by a wise Providence," Ezekiel i. 15, 16. 1727.

III. "The doctrine of merit exploded, and humility recommended," Luke xvii. 10. 1727.

IV. "Thunder and earthquake, a loud and awful call to reformation," Isaiah xxix. 6. A fast sermon, occasioned by the earthquake in 1727.

V. "Evangelical obedience the way to eternal life," a sermon to a society of young men in Brookline, Mat. xix. 16, 17. 1731.

VI. "The eternity of God, and the short life of man considered," a sermon on the death of Samuel Aspinwall, A. M. Psalm cii. 11, 12. 1733.

VII. "Magistracy an institution of Christ upon the throne," an Election sermon, Isaiah vi. 1. 1744.

In July, 1743, he wrote to a convention of ministers in Boston an account of an attention to religion among his people. In this letter he writes, "There have been scores "of persons under awakenings. Yea, I have sometimes "thought, there has not been a single person of my con- "gregation, but has been more or less under concern "about the important matters of another world, and what "he should do to be saved. Though these impressions, "I fear, are worn off in many; in others, I have no rea- "son to doubt, but they have been carried to a sound and "saving conversion. Additions to the church have been "considerable for numbers of such, as, I hope, through "grace shall be saved; and chiefly of younger persons; "one of but eleven years of age, and another in the "eleventh and last hour of life, being above seventy; "three of a liberal education, two of them since hopeful "young preachers."*

Afterwards, from peculiar circumstances, perhaps from the apostasy of some, who had appeared strong in the faith, Mr. Allen was led to alter his views of this revival. This produced an alienation among some of his former friends; so that the evening of his life was not so bright, as was the meridian of his ministry.

The illness, of which he died, was a lingering consumption. The clergyman,† who supplied his pulpit, during his confinement, speaks of his last days, as happy. "He "was," says he, "in a frame becoming a christian. He "told me, he had a hope, which he would not part with "for a thousand worlds; but he desired to have the light "of God's countenance shining upon him, in such a "manner, that he might be fearless; and longed to have "stronger desires to depart, and be with Christ."

Thus, "after he had served his generation, by the will of God, he fell on sleep," the eighteenth of February, 1747, in the fifty sixth year of his age, and in the twenty ninth of his ministry.

* For the whole of this letter, see "The Christian History," &c. published at Boston, 1743, vol. I. p. 394.

† The Rev. John Walley, in his journal. He was afterwards minister of Ipswich and of Bolton.

The additions to the church during his ministry were one hundred and fifteen, besides forty-four, who owned the covenant without coming to the Lord's table. The baptisms were two hundred and sixty one.*

After Mr. Allen's decease, the church and people gave a call to Mr. Cotton Brown,† son of a former minister of Haverhill. He was accordingly ordained, the twenty sixth of October, 1748.‡ So short was his ministry, that his people had hardly an opportunity to become acquainted with him, before he was summoned to the world of spirits.§ This happened, the thirteenth of April, 1751, when he had been ordained but little more, than two years, and in the twenty fifth year of his age.

The additions to the church, while he was minister, were only two, admissions to the baptismal covenant two, and baptisms twenty four.

The Rev. Samuel Haven, afterwards of Portsmouth, and the Rev. Stephen Badger, afterwards of Natick, were next successively invited to settle in this place, and each returned a negative answer.

After this, the Rev. Robert Rogerson,‖ a foreigner, received and accepted an invitation to settle here in the ministry. But certain difficulties arising, he was dismissed by a mutual council.¶

Then Mr. Nathaniel Potter** of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, was called to the pastoral office, and was ordained, the nineteenth of November, 1755. But after he had been in the ministry about three years and a half, he was dismissed, agreeably to his request, the seventeenth of June, 1759.††

* There was at this period no regular record of marriages or of deaths.

† He was graduated at Cambridge, 1743.

‡ The Rev. Messrs. Cotton of Newton and Walter of Roxbury prayed. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge gave the charge; and the Rev. Mr. Townsend of Needham, the right hand of fellowship. The Rev. Samuel Cooke of Cambridge preached the sermon from 2 Tim. ii. 2, which was printed.

§ His disorder was a violent fever.

‖ He had a degree of A. M. conferred at Cambridge, 1765.

¶ The difficulties, which arose, were not so much between him and the people, as between different parties among the people. He was afterwards settled at Rehoboth, where he passed a long life in the ministry, highly beloved and respected, and eminently useful.

** He was graduated at Princeton, New Jersey, 1753.

‡‡ He published a discourse, delivered here, 1 January, 1758, from Jeremiah viii. 20, entitled a new year's gift.

The admissions to the church within this period were fifteen. Five owned the covenant; and forty were baptized.

Immediately after his departure, the eyes of the people were generally directed toward Mr. Joseph Jackson.* Being a tutor at the neighbouring University, he had frequently preached in this place. Recollecting his acceptable services, they chose him to officiate, as the sole candidate. He was soon invited to settle here in the ministry; and was ordained, the ninth of April, 1760.†

With what diligence, fidelity, devotion, and zeal he sustained the pastoral office, many can now testify. Though dead, he still lives in their memories and hearts.

Not only among his affectionate people; but in the societies, where he occasionally officiated, he was highly acceptable, as a preacher. Yet, such was his extreme modesty, such his diffidence, that he refused to preach on several publick occasions.‡ Never would he consent to issue a sermon from the press, though often and earnestly solicited.§

As proof of the generosity and affection of his people toward him, though they were great sufferers by the late inveterate war with Great Britain, they regularly provided for his comfortable support, while many were content to discharge their obligations in contracts by the mere payment of the nominal sums in depreciated currency.‖

In the year 1759, Samuel White, Esq. gave a valuable woodlot in a neighbouring town for the use of the ministry in Brookline.

* He was graduated at Cambridge, 1753, and was, for several years, a much respected tutor at the University.

† The Rev. Mr. Storer of Watertown and the Rev. Dr. Pemberton of Boston prayed. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge gave the charge; and the Rev. Mr. Checkley of Boston, the right hand. Dr. Cooper of Boston preached the sermon from 2 Tim. i. 7, which was printed.

‡ At the Artillery Election, 1761; at the General Election, 1769, and in 1789 before the convention of ministers.

§ He even left positive orders to have all his manuscripts destroyed, immediately after his decease.

‖ In like manner, after the peace, when the precious metals greatly depreciated, all his expenses, which exceeded his income, were allowed him from year to year above his stated salary. Town records.

In May, 1762 the town received three hundred and eight half-johannes,* which Mr. Edward Devotion very generously bequeathed to the town of Brookline, the interest of which is to be regularly appropriated to the use of schools.

The town voted to build a steeple to their house, in September, 1771, and to accept with thankfulness the bell, which was the generous present of the late Nicholas Boylston, Esq.

In the dangers, which threatened, and in the evils, which resulted from the late arduous conflict with our mother country, the inhabitants of this town bore their full share. It is but just to add, that they unitedly manifested the spirit of freemen.†

The fortifications at Sewall's point in this town are standing memorials of the dangers, to which they were exposed from the neighbouring enemy. When the sword was first drawn, and hostilities commenced, they rushed with ardour, as volunteers, into the embattled field; and one ‡ of their most active, respectable, useful, and beloved townsmen fell a victim to his patriotism and zeal in his country's cause.

By their delegate to the convention, the Rev. Joseph Jackson, this town declared in favour of the federal constitution.

In May, 1781, a building spot was purchased; and, in the course of this and the subsequent year, a house was erected for the use of the ministry.

In the summer of 1787, an engine company was formed by an equal number of the inhabitants of Brookline and Roxbury. The engine is in Brookline near the boundary line between the two towns.

On the twenty second of July, 1796, the Rev. Joseph Jackson was removed by a sudden and awful death, in

* Equal to 739 pounds 4 shillings in lawful money. After some losses by paper money, the principal is now 2280 dolls. 65 cts.

† So early, as 1767, they unanimously voted, that this town will take all prudent and legal measures to promote industry, economy, and manufactures, and to discourage the use of European superfluities.

In 1768 they sent a committee to Faneuil hall to meet similar committees from other aggrieved towns; and in 1772 they chose a committee of correspondence to unite with others of a like description in consulting the general good. Town records.

‡ Isaac Gardner, Esq.

the sixty second year of his age, and the thirty seventh of his ministry.* His health had been gradually decaying for a considerable time. The loss of an only son, six years before, was evidently instrumental in bringing him "down with sorrow to the grave."

For some time before his death, he exhibited many presages, and expressed confident expectations of approaching dissolution. But it was then, as it had been long his prayer, that his life and his usefulness might terminate together. His prayer was happily answered.†

The last sabbath of his life, he preached all day; A. M. from Heb. xiii. 5. P. M. from Heb. xii. 15.

During his ministry, one hundred and twenty nine were added to the church; seventy eight owned the covenant; three hundred and seventy nine received baptism; two hundred and seventy six were removed by death.

In an account, published of this town in the year 1785,‡ it is mentioned, that there were but fifty families in this place, and that this was the number at its incorporation. Since that period, there has been a considerable increase.§ This town can now [1813] number 110 families; 67 of which are freeholders; 43 tenants; 10 occasional, and 100 constant residents.

On 15 March, 1797, the present pastor was ordained.‖

From the first organization of this church, 26 Oct. 1717, to 24 Nov. 1805, about eighty eight years, eight hundred and eleven were baptized; one hundred and forty four owned the covenant; three hundred and forty

* He was born, 2 Jan. 1735. At his funeral the Rev. Jacob Cushing of Waltham preached a discourse, which was published, from Luke xii. 35, 36, 37.

† He had even procured a supply of his pulpit, for the sabbath after his decease.

‡ Boston Magazine for June.

§ This increase has been principally occasioned by gentlemen, who own country seats in this town, many of whom reside in Boston during the winter. By the census in 1800 Brookline contained 605 inhabitants. In 1810 it contained 784. In the year 1797 there were 72 houses. There are now 95 houses, and another is building.

‖ On this occasion the Rev. John Bradford of Roxbury introduced the solemnities with prayer; the Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris of Dorchester preached a discourse, which was published, from 1 Cor. iii. 10—15; the Rev. Dr. Thacher of Boston made the consecrating prayer; the Rev. Jacob Cushing of Waltham gave the charge; the Rev. Eliphalet Porter of Roxbury gave the right hand of fellowship; the Rev. William Greenough of Newton concluded with prayer.

were added to the church, and, after the first of January, 1760, when the regular records of deaths commenced, three hundred and forty six were numbered with the dead.

*A list of Brookline ministers with the time of their ordination, dismission, or death.*

1. James Allen, A. M. ordained, 5 Nov. 1718; died, 18 Feb. 1747, æt. 56.
2. Cotton Brown, A. M. ordained, 25 Oct. 1748; died, 13 April, 1751, æt. 25.
3. Nathaniel Potter, A. M. ordained, 19 Nov. 1755; dismissed, 17 June, 1759.
4. Joseph Jackson, A. M. ordained, 9 April, 1760; died, 22 July, 1796, æt. 62.
5. John Pierce, A. M. ordained, 15 March, 1797.

*The following is a list of the deacons of Brookline church with the time of their choice, resignation, and death, as far as has been ascertained.*

| *Chosen.* | |
|---|---|
| 1718, Dec. 7. | Thomas Gardner.<br>Benja. White, resigned, 12 Feb. 1749. |
| 1749, Feb. 19. | Samuel Clark, resigned, 12 Feb. 1749; died, 7 May, 1766, æt. 81.<br>Thomas Cotton, dismissed to Pomfret.<br>Eben'r. Davis, resigned, 5 April, 1770; died, 30 Sep. 1775, æt. 72.<br>Joseph White, resigned, 5 April, 1770; died, 19 Aug. 1777, æt. 75. |
| 1770, Ap. 15. | Elisha Gardner, resigned, 2 Dec. 1792; died, 29 Jan. 1797, æt. 70.<br>Wm. Bowles, dismissed to Newton, 20 Sept. 1772. |
| 1797, Feb. 27. | Samuel Clark,<br>John Robinson. |

*An account of the church plate in Brookline, with the donors' names.*

Four Tankards.

1. The gift of Edward Devotion, 1744.
2. The gift of Miss Mary Allen, 1750.
3. The gift of Miss Ann White.
4. The gift of Mrs. Susanna Sharp, 1770.

Four Cups.

1. The gift of Thomas Woodward, } 1770.
2. The gift of Mary Woodward, }
3, 4. The gift of William Hyslop, 1792.
5. Baptismal vase by David Hyslop, 1806.

*The whole number of deaths in Brookline from* 1 *Jan.* 1760, *to* 1 *Jan.* 1806, *including a period of* 46 *years.*

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1760 | 4 | 1772 | 13 | 1784 | 4 | 1796 | 11 |
| 1761 | 7 | 1773 | 5 | 1785 | 4 | 1797 | 2 |
| 1762 | 8 | 1774 | 11 | 1786 | 6 | 1798 | 8 |
| 1763 | 3 | 1775 | 20 | 1787 | 3 | 1799 | 6 |
| 1764 | 8 | 1776 | 16 | 1788 | 4 | 1800 | 5 |
| 1765 | 8 | 1777 | 10 | 1789 | 6 | 1801 | 8 |
| 1766 | 8 | 1778 | 13 | 1790 | 4 | 1802 | 13 |
| 1767 | 14 | 1779 | 4 | 1791 | 3 | 1803 | 9 |
| 1768 | 11 | 1780 | 7 | 1792 | 10 | 1804 | 9 |
| 1769 | 10 | 1781 | 5 | 1793 | 7 | 1805 | 7 |
| 1770 | 7 | 1782 | 4 | 1794 | 4 | | |
| 1771 | 12 | 1783 | 3 | 1795 | 3 | Total, | 347 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under | 2 years, 57 | Between | 50 and 60, 19 |
| Between | 2 and 10, 29 | Between | 60 and 70, 35 |
| Between | 10 and 20, 14 | Between | 70 and 80, 46 |
| Between | 20 and 30, 39 | Between | 80 and 90, 29 |
| Between | 30 and 40, 23 | Between | 90 and 100, 3* |
| Between | 40 and 50, 29 | Ages not mentioned, | 24 |

*Disorders.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Consumptions | 57 | Lethargy | 2 |
| Fevers | 28 | Gout | 2 |
| Dropsy | 19 | Canker | 2 |
| Dysentery | 14 | Quinsy | 2 |
| Decay | 14 | Rising of the lights | 1 |
| Fits | 13 | King's evil | 1 |
| Small pox | 11 | Apoplexy | 1 |
| Accidents | 9 | Melancholy | 1 |
| Suddenly | 13 | Asthma | 1 |
| Jaundice | 6 | Strangury | 1 |
| Throat distemper | 6 | Worms | 1 |
| In child bed | 3 | | |

* Mr. Vaughan died in 1775, aged 97.

One was killed in battle, and 168 died of diseases not mentioned.

Of those, whose ages are specified, precisely one half lived beyond the age of 40; nearly one quarter lived to the age of 70; and about one in ten lived to the age of 80.

The average number of deaths is fifteen in every two years, or seven one year, and eight the next, alternately.

The prevalent disorder has been consumption, of which about one sixth part have died.

*Deaths in the seven succeeding years.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1806, | 7 | 1810, | 10 |
| 1807, | 14 | 1811, | 8 |
| 1808, | 12 | 1812, | 14 |
| 1809, | 6 | | |
| | | Total, | 71 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Under | 2 years, | 11 | Between | 50 and 60, | 4 |
| Between | 2 and 10, | 9 | Between | 60 and 70, | 8 |
| Between | 10 and 20, | 6 | Between | 70 and 80, | 6 |
| Between | 20 and 30, | 5 | Between | 80 and 90, | 5 |
| Between | 30 and 40, | 5 | | | |
| Between | 40 and 50, | 12 | | | 71 |

*Disorders.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Consumptions | 19 | Fits | 3 |
| Fevers | 11 | Apoplexy | 3 |
| Accidents | 6 | Dropsy in brain | 2 |
| Decay | 6 | Hooping cough | 1 |
| Dropsy | 6 | Canker | 1 |
| Cholera morbus | 4 | Worms | 1 |
| Paralysis | 3 | Suddenly | 1 |
| Jaundice | 3 | In child bed | 1 |

Since the first settlement of this place, twenty six have received an education at Harvard University, one at Princeton, [N. J.] and one at Providence, [R. I.] Of these seven have been ordained ministers of the gospel.

Here follows a list of those,* who have been educated at Harvard University from Brookline.

1. Year, in which they were graduated, 1698. **John White*, A. M. He was ordained minister at Gloucester, April, 1703. He died, 16 Jan. 1760, æt. 83.

2. 1707. **Ebenezer Devotion*, A. M. He was ordained minister of Suffield in Connecticut, 28 June, 1710; and died, 11 April, 1741, æt. 57.

3. 1712. * Edward White, A. M. He was afterwards a farmer in Brookline, major of the regiment of militia, representative to the General Court, and justice of the peace. He was born, 10 July, 1693, and died, 29 May, 1769, æt. 76.

4. 1712. **Andrew Gardner*, A. M. He was ordained minister of Worcester, in 1719, and was dismissed, in Oct. 1722. He was after that installed at Lunenburgh, 15 May, 1728, and dismissed, 22 Feb. 1732.

5. 1714. * Samuel Aspinwall, A. M. He was born, 13 Feb. 1696; and died, 13 Aug. 1732, æt. 37.

The Rev. Mr. Allen published a funeral sermon on his death, in which he gives him an excellent character for moral and literary worth. The following account of him by the same hand appeared in the New England Weekly Journal, No. 283. "*Brookline, Aug.* 21. On the 13th instant, died here Mr. Samuel Aspinwall, of this town, in the 37th year of his age, after between six and seven years' illness. He commenced master of arts in Cambridge, 1717, and was designed for the ministry, but discouraged by an inward weakness; which, after he had been for some little time settled here, so advanced, as to take him off from business, and at length proved fatal. He was a gentleman of bright parts, natural and acquired, a strong memory, quick wit, and solid judgment, pleasant in his conversation, a steady friend, and a good christian."

6. 1733. **Ebenezer White*, A. M. He was born, 29 March, 1713. He was minister of Norton, now Mansfield.

* For several of the following particulars I am indebted to the Hon. William Winthrop, Esq. of Cambridge.

7. 1737. **Jonathan Winchester*, A. M. He was born, 21 April, 1717; and was ordained minister of Dorchester-Canada, since Ashburnham, 23 April, 1760. He died, 27 Nov. 1767, æt. 51.

8. 1738. *Henry Sewall, A. M. He was born, 8 March, 1720. He passed his days on one of his farms in this town; and was justice of the peace. He died, 29 May, 1771, æt. 52.

9. 1738. *John Druce, A. M. He was a physician at Wrentham.

10. 1738. **Charles Gleason*, A. M. He was born, 29 Dec. 1718; ordained minister of Dudley, 31 Oct. 1744; and died, 7 May, 1790, æt. 72.

11. 1742. *James Allen, A. M. He was son of the first minister of Brookline. He was born, 20 Sep. 1723; and died young.

12. 1744. *Benjamin White, A. M. son of Major Edward White, Esq. aforementioned. He was born, 5 Oct. 1724. He spent his days on his farm in this town. He was justice of the peace; for many years a representative to the General Court, and a counsellor. He died, 8 May, 1790, æt. 66.

13. 1747. *Isaac Gardner, A. M. He was born, 9 May, 1726, and led an agricultural life in Brookline. He was justice of the peace. On the memorable 19th of April, 1775, he went, as a volunteer, to Lexington battle, and was killed at Cambridge by the British troops, on their return to Boston.

In his domestick, social, civil, and religious capacity he was equally beloved and respected. The melancholy circumstance of his death excited great publick sensibility, as well as private lamentation and regret.

14. 1761. *Hull Sewall, A. M. He was the son of Henry Sewall, Esq. born 9 April, 1744; and died, 27 Nov. 1767, æt. 24.

15. 1761. *Samuel Sewall, A. M. He was born, 31 Dec. 1745. He practised law for some time in Boston. At the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain, he left his native country, and resided at Bristol in England, where he died in May, 1811.

16. 1764. William Aspinwall, A. M. M. D. physician of Brookline. For several years he was representative to the General Court, afterwards senator from the county of Norfolk, and then a counsellor.

17. 1764. * Isaac Winchester, A. M. He was born, 5 Aug. 1743; and died in the continental army.

18. 1768. * Henry Sewall, A. M. son of Henry Sewall, Esq. He was born, 19 Jan. 1749; and died, 17 Oct. 1772, æt. 24.

19. 1777. John Goddard, A. M. merchant in Portsmouth, N. H. For many years he was representative to the court, and senator in the legislature of said state.

20. 1786. * Elisha Gardner, A. M. He followed merchandise, and died at the southward.

21. 1787. Caleb Child, A. B. physician.

22. 1787. * Joseph Jackson, A. M. son of the fourth minister of Brookline. He died at Portsmouth, N. H. 19 Aug. 1790, while pursuing the study of physick.

23. 1804. William Aspinwall, A. M. M. D. son of the Hon. William Aspinwall, Esq. He practises physick in his native town.

24. 1804. Thomas Aspinwall, A. M. son of the Hon. William Aspinwall, Esq. For several years he was a lawyer in Boston. He is now a colonel in the United States' army.

25. 1805. *Samuel Clark*, A. M. son of Deac. Samuel Clark. He is minister in Burlington, Vermont.

26. 1805. Isaac S. Gardner, son of Gen. Isaac S. Gardner. He is instructer of youth in Georgetown, district of Columbia.

* Caleb White was graduated at Princeton, [N. J.] 1762.

Luther Harris was graduated at Providence, [R. I.] 1811.

The late Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, F. R. S. a native of Brookline, has been so highly and so deservedly celebrated, that a brief account of him cannot be unacceptable.

He was born in this town, of respectable parents, in 1679. After a good private education, he studied physick with Dr. Cutler, an eminent physician and surgeon

of Boston ; and, in process of time, arrived at great distinction in his profession.

In the year 1721, the small pox prevailed in Boston. Having being informed by the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather of the mode, in which inoculation was practised in Turkey, he boldly resolved, notwithstanding the inveterate prejudices of his countrymen against it, to commence the practice himself.

He first inoculated his own children and servants. Encouraged by the result of this experiment, in 1721, and the beginning of 1722, he inoculated 247 persons in Boston and the neighbouring towns. Thirty nine were inoculated by others, making in the whole 286, of whom only six died.

Notwithstanding this wonderful success, the populace, headed and inflamed by some of his own profession, were so exasperated, as to render it unsafe for him to travel in the evening. They argued, that he ought to be viewed and treated, as the murderer of those, who died in consequence of inoculation. To such a pitch did their passions transport them, that a lighted grenado was, one evening, thrown into the chamber of a young man, who had been inoculated. He must inevitably have lost his life, had not the fuse been removed by passing through the window.

Had Dr. Boylston gone at this time to England, he might have accumulated an immense fortune by his skill in treating the small pox. He did not however visit that country, till 1725, when inoculation was common. He was then received with the most flattering attention. He was chosen member of the Royal Society ; and he became acquainted with some of the most distinguished characters in the nation. His communications to that society, after his return to America, were ingenious and useful.

After a long period of eminence and skill in his profession, he retired to his patrimonial estate in Brookline, to pass the remainder of his days. He there expired, on the 1st of March, 1766, and was interred in his own tomb, which bears the following plain, through appropriate, and just inscription.

"Sacred to the memory of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, Esq. physician, and F. R. S. who first introduced the practice of inoculation into America. Through a life of extensive beneficence, he was always faithful to his word, just in his dealings, affable in his manners; and, after a long sickness, in which he was exemplary for his patience and resignation to his Maker, he quitted this mortal life, in a just expectation of a happy immortality, on the first day of March, A. D. 1766, ætat. 87."

For a more particular account of him, see a sketch of his life and character, written by the late Dr. Thacher of Boston, and inserted in the Massachusetts Magazine for December, 1789, from which the above is principally taken.

It is but justice to add, that Dr. Aspinwall of this town continued the practice, which his renowned predecessor thus introduced, with equal diligence, fidelity, and zeal, and with still greater success.

Perhaps no practitioner in the United States ever inoculated so many persons, or acquired such skill and celebrity in treating this malignant disease.

Besides his practice in this disorder, when it generally spread, he was allowed, after the year 1788, to keep a hospital open at all times, to which great numbers repaired, and from which they safely returned with warm expressions of satisfaction. He continued in the successful treatment of this disease, till the general introduction of vaccine inoculation.

In Indian wars several of the natives of this town have fallen victims in the prime and vigour of life.*

Tradition has preserved the names of but few. The Rev. Dr. Holmes of Cambridge, in the first volume of his American Annals, page 429, has mentioned the following inscription, found on a stone in Sudbury, giving

* On Sewall's farm in this town are plainly discernible the remains of an Indian fort, containing about the eighth of an acre. It is of a square form, surrounded by a ditch nearly three feet deep, and a parapet about three feet high. It has an opening or gateway at each side. One of these is directly toward a large swamp, commonly called Cedar swamp, near which the fort is situated on a commanding eminence. Tradition, which has long preserved the memorial of this fact, gives no account, by what tribe of Indians, on what occasion, nor why it was erected.

an account of the death of Lieutenant Sharp* of this town. "Capt. Samuel Wadsworth of Milton, his Lieut. Sharp "of Brooklin, and twenty six other souldiers, fighting for "the defence of their country, were slain by the Indian "enemy, April 18th, 1676, and lye buried in this place."

16 May, 1804, it was voted to build a new meeting house, in the place of the old meeting house.

But it being inconvenient, for several reasons, to carry this resolution into effect, this vote was reconsidered; and, 5 September, 1804, it was voted to build the meeting house, where it is now located.

The corner stone was laid, 11 April, 1805. The house was several days in raising with a very few hands by the help of machinery. The architect was Mr. Peter Banner, a native of England.

The old meeting house was 44 feet long, and 35 feet wide. It originally contained but 14 pews. At its demolition it had 28 pews on the floor; and 4 in the gallery.

The new house is 68 feet long, and 64 feet wide. The porch is 19 feet long, and 38 feet wide. The lobbies at each side of the porch are 11 feet square. The height of the building from the top of the foundation to the eaves is 35 feet and 6 inches. From the foundation of the tower to the top of the spire it is 138 feet high.

There are 74 pews on the floor, and 14 in the gallery.

This second house of publick worship was, by appropriate religious exercises, dedicated to the service of Almighty God, 11 June, 1806, it being then a few months more than a century from the incorporation of the town.

* Great, great grandfather of the present Stephen Sharp, Esq. The son of this Lieut. Sharp afterwards lost his life in an expedition against the Indians in Canada.

*Amherst, (N. H.) June* 26, 1813.

Rev. Sir,

WHILE on a visit to Billerica in Massachusetts, last year, I inspected the records of that town. Among the first pages of the most ancient book, I found the following table of births, marriages and deaths, which time had nearly obliterated, and which was with difficulty transcribed. It is forwarded to you, Sir, with a request that it may be published in the Collections of the Historical Society.

With great deference, I am your humble and obedient servant,

JOHN FARMER.

Rev. A. Holmes, D. D.

*Table of Births, Marriages and Deaths, in the town of Billerica, (Mass.) for forty one years.*

| Years. | Births. | Marriages. | Deaths. | Years. | Births. | Marriages. | Deaths. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1654 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 1676 | 15 | 1 | 7 |
| 55 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 77 | 17 | 6 | 6 |
| 56 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 78 | 14 | 4 | 5 |
| 57 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 79 | 17 | 0 | 3 |
| 58 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1680 | 25 | 2 | 7 |
| 59 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 81 | 14 | 7 | 4 |
| 1660 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 82 | 12 | 2 | 5 |
| 61 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 83 | 24 | 1 | 8 |
| 62 | 9 | 8 | 4 | 84 | 14 | 2 | 6 |
| 63 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 85 | 14 | 2 | 5 |
| 64 | 16 | 3 | 1 | 86 | 21 | 5 | 4 |
| 65 | 13 | 3 | 1 | 87 | 18 | 3 | 6 |
| 66 | 11 | 4 | 3 | 88 | 17 | 0 | 4 |
| 67 | 13 | 3 | 5 | 89 | 19 | 0 | 4 |
| 68 | 15 | 2 | 6 | 1690 | 14 | 3 | 6 |
| 69 | 13 | 6 | 3 | 91 | 16 | 0 | 3 |
| 1670 | 19 | 3 | 9 | 92 | 13 | 0 | 4 |
| 71 | 23 | 1 | 7 | 1703 | 30 | 6 | 8 |
| 72 | 13 | 3 | 5 | 1704 | 20 | 6 | 6 |
| 73 | 11 | 2 | 3 | | | | |
| 74 | 14 | 5 | 8 | Total, | 557 | 106 | 172 |
| 75 | 16 | 1 | 10 | | | | |

It appears from the records, that Billerica was granted Feb. 17, 1654, by Henry Dunster, Richard Champney, Edw. Goffe and John Bridge to the following persons; viz. Ralph Hill, sen. Wm. French, John Stearns, Wm. Patten, George Farley, Ralph Hill, jun. John Vroe, James Parker, Jonathan Danforth, Henry Sciffs, Wm. Chamberlain and Robert Parker.

## AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CHARLESTOWN, IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX, AND COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

*Read to an assembly of Citizens at the opening of Washington Hall, Nov.* 16, 1813, *and afterward prepared, with notes, for the Massachusetts Historical Society. By* JOSIAH BARTLETT, M. D.

THERE are periods in society, as well as in the life of an individual, when it is peculiarly proper, by a review of past occurrences, to trace the progress of improvement, and excite such feelings, as may lead to future usefulness. On this occasion, when we are convened in such auspicious circumstances, and may rationally estimate the advantages of a laudable exertion for ourselves and our posterity, I deem it appropriate to attempt a general sketch of our municipal history, and offer such observations as comport with the design of our present meeting.

Among the intrepid advocates of civil and religious freedom, who encountered the dangers of the ocean, and the greater dangers of the wilderness, were nine or ten persons,* who in the summer of 1628, travelled by land from *Naumkeak*, now called Salem, and, under the authority of governour Endicot, constituted this place† an English settlement. They here found an "English thatched house pallisadoed," and occupied by Thomas Walford, a smith by trade, of whom no particular account is preserved. By the Indians, who were very numerous, it was called *Mishawum*, and their chief was John Sagamore, by whose consent these enterprising travellers settled themselves in the neighbourhood of TOWN HILL,

* Among whom Ralph Sprague with his brethren Richard and William are particularly named in the record.

† Charlestown, lying in lat. 42°, 23′ N. and long. 4″ E. from the meridian of Cambridge, is of an irregular form, about 7 1-4 miles long, and 1 mile in average width. Its bounds (formerly very extensive) were established by the General Court, March 3, 1635. It now lies S. W. on Cambridge, N. W. on Woburn, N. W. and N. E. on Mistick river, and S. E. on Charles river, from which its name is derived. The natural divisions are distinguished by *within* and *without the neck*. The first includes a peninsula, formed by Mistick and Charles rivers, somewhat of an oval form, about a mile and a quarter long, and half a mile wide, upon which the town is built, and which is joined to the main by a narrow isthmus. The second division contains a great quantity of fertile land, rendered valuable from its vicinity to an excellent market.

which was fortified * the year following, against invasions, with which the English were threatened.

On the margin of that memorable eminence we are now assembled; it has been repeatedly a citadel of defence, a resort for the instruction of youth, and devoted to the service of the Almighty. Here our fathers resisted the threatenings of untutored savages; here they taught the rudiments of science, and projected measures for their future happiness; here, if tradition is correct, they worshipped beneath the shade of a venerable oak, and perhaps anticipated a period like the present, when their descendants, on the same spot, in a spacious temple,† should pay their weekly adorations to the GREAT CREATOR; and in a convenient edifice,‡ dedicated to patriotism and philanthropy, should gratefully respect their memories, and cultivate the principles they so assiduously supported.

In 1629,§ Gov. John Winthrop arrived here with fifteen hundred persons, and resided several months,‖ during which time a church was gathered, which was the second in Massachusetts. The governour and other publick officers were accommodated with a building called the *great house*,¶ on the westerly side of our present Market square, and near the late residence of the Hon. James Russell** deceased. The remainder resided

* This was "performed by all hands, viz. of men, women and children, who labour in digging and building till the work is done."

† The Congregational meeting house. ‡ Washington Hall.

§ The arrival of Gov. Winthrop is stated by himself, Dudley, Mather, Holmes, and others, to have been in 1630; but the original town record, vol I. page 3, makes it in 1629, and the figures in the margin and text are perfectly plain.

‖ "The first *Court of Assistants* was held in Charlestown harbour, on board the Arabella, Aug. 23, 1630, present, Gov. Winthrop, Dep. Gov. Dudley, Sir R. Saltonstall, Messrs. Ludlow, Rossiter, Nowell, Sharp, Pynchon, and Bradstreet." The Hon. Simon Bradstreet was governour in 1679, and his descendants have continued here with reputation to the present period.

¶ Built in 1628, on account of the patentees, by Thomas Graves, who planned the fort on Town Hill, and was appointed to "moddle and lay out the form of the town with streets," and to "measure out to each inhabitant a two acre lot to plant upon." He is spoken of as "a person skilful in mines of iron, lead, copper, mineral salt, and allum, fortification of all sorts, surveying, &c." He was an *Assistant* with Gov. Endicot, and appointed a sea commander by Oliver Cromwell. His descendants were citizens of repute, and sustained important offices.

** The ancestors of Mr. Russell were among the first settlers of the town, and enjoyed the most important legislative, judicial and municipal offices. He died in 1798, aged 83, and was a descendant of the fourth generation, who

in cottages, booths and tents. These persons, having experienced great sufferings from a variety of causes,* became so unhealthy, that many died soon after their arrival, in consequence of which, the governour, with many of the survivors, removed over Charles river to *Shawmut*, which they called Boston, and others engaged in the settlement of Watertown, Cambridge, and other places, leaving but seventeen male inhabitants.

In 1632,† the small pox was very destructive to the natives, which rendered the lives of the emigrants more comfortable, and hastened an increase of their countrymen, who, early in 1633, amounted to fifty eight, most of whom had families. At this period a church was again gathered; the house ‡ which Gov. Winthrop had occupied was purchased as a place of worship, and used as such till 1716, when a meeting house § was erected on the northerly part of the square.

In 1634, the town was organized, delegates were elected to the General Court, selectmen ‖ and other officers were appointed; and from that time it gradually popu-

successively among other places of great trust, sustained the office of *assistant* or counsellor in the province. His son, the Hon. Thomas Russell of Boston, an eminent merchant and philanthropist, was a native of Charlestown, and was also a representative of Boston, and a counsellor. He died April 8, 1796, aged 56. An eulogy on his character was delivered May 4 following, by John Warren, M. D. and is published.

* It is said that but one spring of fresh water was then to be found, and that upon the beach, near the present scite of the state prison. However this may be, no town is now better supplied.

† The winter of this year was severe, and there was a scarcity of provisions. In the spring a vessel arrived from Virginia with Indian corn, which sold for ten shillings a bushel.

John Sales was the first inhabitant convicted of theft. He was publickly punished and "all he had was taken to make restitution."

‡ "April, 1633. Agreed and concluded by the inhabitants, that the sum of ten pounds be collected of the said inhabitants, and be paid to John Winthrop, Esq. governour, and the rest of the gentlemen interested in the great house built in anno, 1628, by Mr. Graves and the company's servants; which is for the purchase of the said house, now the publick meeting house in this town; all which was accordingly done." This is a specimen of the early records of the town, which are very minute and entertaining to those who acquire a knowledge of the writing of that period. The town clerk was Mr. Increase Nowell, who was afterward secretary to the colony.

§ This building was 72 feet long, 52 feet wide, and 34 feet (three stories) high, with a steeple. The cost stated at 2000 pounds.

‖ The number of "deputys at court" this year was three; and of selectmen, eleven. The names of persons admitted inhabitants were recorded, and on the 8th of March, 1635, it was agreed, that "whosoever is warned to appear at any town meeting forty eight hours before the time appointed, and shall fail, unless the occasion be extraordinary, shall forfeit and pay eighteen pence."

lated and improved, until a large part of it fell a sacrifice to the ravages of war.

On the state of the town during an hundred and forty seven years to this event, it may be remarked, that the inhabitants were industrious, sober, and cultivated good principles. Publick worship was regularly attended, schools were as well regulated as the state of society would allow. Navigation, which consisted principally in the whale fishery and West India trade, though not extensive, was prosperous; the mechanick arts were cherished, and advantages were derived from ship-building, the manufactory of rum, loaf sugar, candles, leather and potashes.

Judicial courts were early instituted, and continued until the revolutionary war. A dry dock was made in 1678, above the present draw bridge, near the navy yard, and was the only one in the country. The small pox* and other contagious diseases have generally prevailed when they did in the metropolis; and there have been several fires† distressing to individuals, the most remarkable of which was in 1749, occasioned by the villany of three negro servants, who were convicted of poisoning their master, ‡ and two of whom were executed, the other becoming evidence for the king.

A ferry,§ communicating with Boston, which was reputed to be the best regulated of any in the province,

* The last spread of the small pox was in the autumn of 1792. The number inoculated was 1334 (879 inhabitants and 455 strangers) of which 9 died. 12 had the disease the natural way, of whom 5 died. Vaccination is now generally practised.

† There is an account of several fires in Charlestown, during the eighteenth century, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. I. second series, p. 81, &c.

‡ Capt. John Codman, a respectable citizen, and an active military officer, destroyed by arsenick. The servants were named Mark, Phillis, and Phœbe, who were favourite domesticks. The man procured the drug, and the females administered it. Mark was hanged, and Phillis was burnt at the usual place of execution in Cambridge. Phœbe, who was said to have been the most culpable, became evidence against the others. She was transported to the West Indies. The body of Mark was suspended in irons on the northerly side of Cambridge road, about a quarter of a mile above our peninsula, and the gibbet remained till a short time before the revolution. Are there any other instances of *burning* or *gibbeting* in the annals of New England?

§ This ferry was first rented to Edward Converse for forty shillings a year. In 1640, it was given to Harvard College, and afforded a handsome revenue. The bridge at the same place now pays it two hundred pounds a year.

was established in 1631; and one was opened without the peninsula, to communicate with Malden, in 1640. There is now at this place a convenient bridge,* erected in 1787.

On the retreat of the English troops from Concord, April 19, 1775, a great part of the inhabitants† of this town abandoned it, and they were dispersed in various parts of the country. On the 17th of June of that year, the Americans began a breastwork on Breed's Hill, which was discovered at Boston the following morning, when a severe cannonade commenced. In the afternoon an attack was made by the British, who, after a severe conflict, obtained a dear bought victory.‡ During the battle the town was set on fire, when the meeting house, a court house, prison, county house, two school houses, and a work house,§ with upwards of three hundred and eighty dwellings and other buildings, valued on oath at five hundred and twenty three thousand dollars, were totally consumed, and two thousand persons, being the whole population of the peninsula, were reduced from affluence and mediocrity to poverty and exile.

Connected with these solemn transactions was the death of the Hon. Joseph Warren,‖ a distinguished states-

* Malden Bridge was finished in six months, and cost 5300 pounds. The property is vested in 120 shares. It is 2400 feet long, including the abutments, 32 feet wide, has a convenient draw, and eight lamps. The Mistick river, over which it passes, is, at high water, 23 feet deep. The property is perpetual, but the toll is subject to alteration at the expiration of fifty years. The president is the Hon. John Phillips of Boston.

† James Miller, aged 66, and Edward Barber, aged 14, were killed on that day.

‡ The Americans engaged in this enterprize were commanded by Col. Prescott, and stated at 1500. The British (being the flower of the army) were commanded by Gen. Howe, and stated at 3000. The loss of the former, in killed and wounded, was 450, and of the latter 1050. For an accurate account of the transaction, see Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. II. p. 226.

§ The scite of the meeting house was on the northerly part of the square, in front of the house now owned by the Hon. Matthew Bridge. The court house was on the easterly part of the square, in front of the estate belonging to the heirs of the Hon. Thomas Russell, deceased. One of the school houses, which was built for a town house, and on which were the town bell and clock, was on the spot where the Congregational meeting house now stands; the other, with the prison, county house, and work house, were on the margin of Town hill, in the vicinity of the present school house.

‖ The day previous to the battle, Warren, at the age of 35, was appointed a major general, and acted on this occasion as a volunteer. He was buried on the field; but was afterward removed, and publickly interred at Boston, where an oration was pronounced, April 8, 1776, by Perez Morton, Esq. It was published.

man, an eloquent orator, and an intrepid warrior, who fell an early sacrifice on the altar of freedom.

During the siege of Boston, that division of our territory, which we distinguish by *without the neck*, and where there are several vestiges of fortifications,* was principally occupied by the American troops, and the inhabitants were consequently subject to considerable inconveniences, which it has been supposed were fully compensated in 1778, by a temporary residence of the British and Hessian army, captured at Saratoga; whose necessaries and conveniences were purchased with specie, whilst the circulating medium of the country was a depreciated paper currency. This section was exclusively agricultural, with the exception of the alewife fishery at proper seasons, until within a few years, since which the manufactory of bricks has afforded employment for many of the citizens. Its growth has been gradual; it has furnished a full proportion of the town officers, and has derived peculiar advantages† from its connexion with the peninsula.

On the removal of the seat of war in 1776, many of the former inhabitants returned from their exile,‡ and commenced according to their respective means, to repair their waste places. A few of the number were able to erect convenient dwellings, whilst others, like their hardy predecessors, were only covered with temporary shelters. Those, who can call to mind the occurrences of that interesting era, must recollect their mingled emotions of despondency and pleasure. The only objects that retained their former appearance were desolated streets, and the grave yard of their ancestors and relatives; but by a consideration of mutual sufferings, it was the endeavour of every individual to meliorate the con-

* There are several hills in this town, famed in the American annals, the most of which command extensive prospects. On the peninsula are Bunker's and Breed's on the N. E. side; and on the S. W. are Town hill (which has been much reduced) and a small hill used as a burying ground. Without the neck are Prospect, Winter, Plowed and Cobble hills (on this is the seat of the late Joseph Barrell, Esq.) with three others of less note, called Quarry, Reed's and Walnut hills.

† Particularly in schools, and the highways.

‡ Mr. Timothy Thompson, jun. was the first person born on the peninsula, after the town was opened; and Susanna Hooper (now Mrs. Haven) was the first female.

dition of his neighbour; to cultivate harmony, and unite for the benefit of the whole. A block-house, erected by the enemy, at the place * originally fortified against the natives, was appropriated to the discharge of our civil duties, to the publick services of religion, and to the education of youth. Here, uninfluenced by political dissensions, we gave our first suffrages † for a chief magistrate and legislators, under the constitution of this Commonwealth; when, in the true spirit of republicanism, we exulted in the commencement of a government, achieved by our ablest statesmen, and calculated to promote our own happiness with that of our posterity.

At the expiration of nine years to 1785,‡ the buildings on the peninsula were one hundred and fifty one, and the population was five hundred and fifty. The buildings without the neck, were one hundred and twenty eight, and the population four hundred and forty nine, making but a small difference at that time, in the geographical divisions of the town. The present number of inhabitants, including temporary residents § for employment, is nearly six thousand, of which about five-sixths reside on the peninsula, where the natural population has been unusual || from a constant accession of young families. The buildings have increased in twenty eight years from one hundred and fifty one, many of which were temporary and are abolished, to the present state of respectability and convenience, which far exceeds our former situation.

The principal streets were widened, straightened and improved, and the Market Square was regularly laid out,

* Town Hill.

† Sept. 4, 1780. The votes for Governour were 48. Lieut. Governour 39. Senators 38. In 1813, the votes for Governour were 821. Lieut. Governour 821. Senators 819.

‡ The buildings and inhabitants were numbered at this time, when a concise account of the town was published, in part, in the Boston Magazine; and afterward entire in No. 1 and 2 of the American Recorder (Dec. 9th and 13th, 1805) a newspaper printed at Charlestown, but which was not long continued. That publication was prepared by the author of this sketch, and embraces some of the facts to that period, which are here stated.

§ Estimated at 900, including women and children.

|| It appears by extracts from the new year's sermons of the Rev. Dr. Morse, that in the last 25 years, the number of births on the peninsula, was 3225, and of deaths 1510.

soon after the opening of the town in 1776; to facilitate which, a lottery was granted, and the state taxes were remitted for seven years. These with a *brief*, for assistance to erect a meeting house, and a partial support to the aged and infirm, who were reduced by the conflagration, were the only instances of legislative aid for the sufferings of the inhabitants in the cause of their country; though a seasonable application on this subject, was respectfully submitted to the continental Congress, by a committee * appointed for that purpose.

Our publick buildings are four meeting houses, five school houses, in one of which is a town hall; a powder magazine belonging to the Commonwealth, and an alms house.† The present number of dwellings,‡ stores,

* Hon. Nathaniel Gorham and Thomas Russell.

By the report of a committee of Congress dated Philadelphia, May 16, 1777, they sympathize with the sufferers, and consider the estimate of damages to be very moderate; but they "apprehend that if Congress were to pay that valuation, claims much more extensive, and of a similar nature, will be made by other sufferers, and subject the United States to the payment of sums of money which, in the present exigencies of their affairs, cannot be spared from the support of the present just and necessary war."

In 1784 Mr. Gorham, at the request of the sufferers went to England, to solicit aid; but this mission (which was disapproved of by many) like that to Philadelphia, was unsuccessful.

† A Congregational meeting house, 72 feet long, 52 feet wide and 27 feet high to the eaves, erected in 1783, and widened to 84 feet in 1804. It has a large tower, and elegant steeple. A bell of 1300 weight (which has been twice broken and replaced) was presented by Messrs. Champion, Dickason and Burgis, merchants of London, and an elegant clock, by the Hon. Thomas Russell. These are the property of the town. A convenient chapel, 26 feet long, 21 wide and 10 1-2 high, for parish and church meetings, lectures, &c. was built by subscriptions in the church in 1809, on part of a valuable parsonage lot, bequeathed in 1703, by Mr. Richard Sprague.

A Baptist meeting house, 65 feet long, 50 feet wide and 29 feet high, erected in 1800. It is handsome and convenient, with a cupola and bell, but was relinquished by the society for whom it was built, and now belongs to an individual.

A Baptist meeting house, 65 feet long, 50 feet wide, and 14 feet high, built with brick in 1810. It is a well finished, respectable edifice, and belongs to the society who occupied the building above described.

A Universal meeting house, 62 feet long, 62 feet wide, and 34 feet high, built with brick in 1810. It is commodious, and handsomely finished.

Two of the school houses are built with brick, two stories high, and are on the peninsula; the three others are of wood, and properly located without the neck.

There is a building erected by Major Timothy Walker for an Academy, which is kept by Oliver Brown, A. M.

The Magazine on Quarry hill, is a strong stone edifice of a conic figure, and has been erected many years.

The Alms house is a wooden building, two stories high, with proper accommodations for the keeper, and for the persons who are subjects of such an institution. The keeper is Mr. Gideon Foster.

‡ Of these, some are elegant, many are spacious, and others are convenient. A law has lately passed, requiring a certain proportion of every new building to be of brick.

barns, &c. is eight hundred and fifty, of which six hundred and seventy are on the peninsula.

In 1812 an application was made to the legislature, for the reestablishment of Judicial Courts, which was probably defeated, by an influence, that has recently decided on the erection of a court house and jail at Lechmere's Point in Cambridge; an establishment which is considered injurious to us, but which we are told will be compensated by an intended spacious causeway, to connect us with that territory.

In 1803 an avenue was opened at the easterly part of the town, in nearly a direct line from Salem, by means of a turnpike road, and the erection of Chelsea Bridge.*

The Congregational church, established in 1633, has continued to the present time; a Baptist church was founded in 1801; a Universal church in 1811, and there are other religious societies, by which we enjoy the privilege of attending publick worship according to our various opinions; and it is honourable to the different sects, that there is no apparent discord on this important subject.†

* This Bridge was built across Mistick river in 1803, about a mile below Malden bridge. It is longer, but of the same width, has two draws, and is accommodated with lamps. It cost 53,000 dollars, which is held in 2400 shares, half of which are the property of the Malden Bridge Corporation. It reverts to the Commonwealth in 70 years. The President is Hon. Nathan Dane of Beverly.

† The Congregational ministers are as follows.

Rev. John Wilson, settled in Aug. 1630, and removed with his church to Boston the Nov. following. He died in 1677, aged 78.

Rev. Mr. James settled 1632. He went to Virginia in 1643.

Rev. John Harvard, officiated a short time, and died in 1638. Age unknown.

Rev. Thomas Allen, settled in 1638, went to England in 1651, and died in 1673. Aged 65.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rev. Zechariah Symmes, | settled 1652, | died 1671. | Aged 71. |
| Thomas Shepard, | 1659, | 1677. | 43. |
| Thomas Shepard, jun. | 1680, | 1685. | 27. |
| Charles Morton, | 1686, | 1706. | 80. |
| Simon Bradstreet, | 1698, | 1741. | 72. |
| Joseph Stevens, | 1713, | 1721. | 40. |
| Hull Abbot, | 1724, | 1774. | 72. |
| Thomas Prentice, | 1739, | 1782. | 80. |
| Joshua Paine, | 1787, | 1788. | 24. |
| Jedidiah Morse, D. D. | 1789. | | |

The present *deacons* of the church are James Frothingham, Thomas Miller, and Amos Tufts.

Baptist ministers — Rev. Thomas Waterman, settled 1802, and dismissed 1803. He was pastor of the church, and an instructer of youth at Woburn, and died there, March 23, 1814, aged 39. Rev. William Collier, settled 1804.

The *deacons* are David Goodwin, William Arnold, and James Fosdick.

In 1743 a fire society was formed, which is still continued; with the addition of three others, in 1795, 1800 and 1810.* A lodge of Freemasons† was constituted, in 1783, and from its funds was erected, in 1794, a handsome monument‡ on Breed's hill, in memory of a distinguished member,§ and to perpetuate American bravery. Associations like these, for mutual assistance in periods of danger and adversity, have a beneficial influence, and they merit the attention of the benevolent and humane.

In 1786 the opening of Charles River Bridge,‖ erected where the ferry was kept, was celebrated, with the

Universal ministers—Rev. Abner Kneeland, settled in 1811. His connexion is dissolved, and Rev. Edward Turner from Salem, is to succeed him.

The *deacons* are Moses Hall and Samuel Thompson.

There are two other Baptist societies, which worship in private buildings. They consider clerical titles and dress improper, deny the necessity of ordination in the usual way, administer the communion every sabbath, and receive no contributions but from church members. The teachers are Mr. Walter Balfour and Oliver Holden, Esq. See Benedict's History of the Baptists, vol. II. p. 407—8.

The first Baptist church in Boston, was gathered in Charlestown in 1665.

* These are designated by the names of the Ancient, Phœnix, Washington, and Jefferson societies.

† The Master is Mr. Thomas Hooper.

‡ A Tuscan Pillar, 18 feet high, on a brick foundation 10 feet from the ground, eight feet square and enclosed by posts. On the top is a gilt urn, with the letters J. W. aged 35, entwined in masonic emblems. On the south side of the pedestal is the following inscription.

ERECTED, A. D. MDCCXCIV.
By King Solomon's Lodge of FREE-MASONS,
Constituted in Charlestown, 1783,
In memory of
MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH WARREN,
and his ASSOCIATES,
who were slain on this memorable spot, June 17, 1775.

"None but they who set a just value upon the blessings of LIBERTY are worthy to enjoy her. In vain we toiled; in vain we fought; we bled in vain; if you, our offspring, want valor to repel the assaults of her invaders."

Charlestown settled 1628.
Burnt 1775. Rebuilt 1776.

The enclosed land was given by the Hon. James Russell.

§ Warren was Grand Master of Free-Masons for North America, at the time of his death.

‖ This Bridge, which was thirteen months in building, and considered as the greatest enterprize which had been undertaken in the country, is 1503 feet long, it has 75 piers, each composed of seven posts of oak timber, driven into the bed of the river, and united by cap pieces and girts. The piers are connected with string pieces, which are covered with four inch plank. The bridge is 43 feet wide, with a railed way on each side for foot passengers. It has a draw 30 feet wide, and is accommodated with 40 lamps. The depth of water in the channel on high tides is about 40 feet. The property is vested in 150 shares, each of which was assessed 100 pounds, and it reverts to the State in 70 years from 1786. The Bridges which have been since built in the vicinity, are on the same model. The President is the Hon. George Cabot, of Boston.

greatest splendour and festivity, on the same spot, and at the same time, which eleven years before, was a scene of slaughter and devastation.

A reading society and news-rooms, were opened in 1812, upon a liberal establishment; but by the peculiar state of the times, another was afterward formed, which divided the original subscribers, and caused a different arrangement. That year also gave existence, in this town, to a branch of the "Washington Benevolent Society,"* the objects of which are to support the constitution, preserve the union of the States, reciprocate advice in times of adversity, and relieve the indigent. Its first publick appearance was on the last anniversary of the birth of our POLITICAL FATHER.

Though I omit to detail our various publick celebrations,† (which are common to other places) and the different motives of those who have encouraged them, I cannot forbear to mention that this town, in but seventeen days‡ from the mournful event, was the first in Massachusetts, and I believe in the United States, that instituted publick funeral honours on the death of WASHINGTON. There are many who hear me, that can never forget the united sympathies of six hundred and twenty persons, moving § by a solemn knell, and agonizing peals of cannon to the house of prayer; or the copious tears of a crowded auditory at the recital of his unexampled services for his beloved country. The gazing schoolboys, who accompanied us on that occasion, will renew

* The President is Joseph Hurd, Esq. and the number of our inhabitants who are members is 230.

† The 22d Feb. 4th March, 17th June and 4th July, have often been celebrated by the different political sects; and the 24th June by the Free-Masons.

‡ Dec. 31, 1799.

§ The procession consisted of the male inhabitants, from seven years of age and upwards; the Magistrates, Town, Church and Parish officers, instructers of the schools, the lodge of Free-Masons, and the Military, consisting of three companies in uniform. The stores and shops were shut; the flags on the vessels and on shore were displayed *half staff* high, and minute guns were fired from *Breed's hill*. The meeting house was shrouded in black, and an appropriate discourse from Deuteronomy xxxiv. 5, 7, 8, was delivered by Rev. Dr. MORSE, which, with all the proceedings, were published by the town for the use of the inhabitants.

The 22d of February, 1800, being set apart by the Congress of the United States, was suitably noticed by the town. A procession was formed similar to the above, and an Oration delivered by the author of this history, which was published at the request of the selectmen and parish committee.

their tender emotions, when they tell the melancholy story to their listening children, and the records of the town will transmit to future ages, a most honourable testimony of our esteem and veneration.

By this cursory retrospect of thirty seven years, from the rebuilding of the town, we may discover the beneficial effects of industry and perseverance. Our commerce, ship building, and other mechanick arts have generally been successful; our manufactures, which in some branches are extensive, particularly of morocco leather, cordage, bricks, candles, soap of various kinds, the distillery of molasses, and the brewing of malt liquors; with the extensive butcheries, tan-yards, and packing large quantities of provisions for foreign markets, afford, in prosperous times, a productive income to the different proprietors, and a handsome support to various classes of our fellow citizens.

Our pleasant, healthful and commodious situation, is frequently a subject of conversation, with occasional visitants. The events of the revolutionary war; the Navy Yard * located in 1800, and now in active operation, by the building of a seventy-four gun ship, and the fitting of other vessels of war; the Middlesex Canal,† opened in 1803, and creating a deposit for wood, lumber and other articles; the Marine Hospital,‡ erected in

* The territory comprising the national accommodations, being between 40 and 50 acres, was ceded to the U. States in 1800, by the General Court, who retain no other jurisdiction than to prevent a refuge against breaches of our statutes committed without its limits. The persons residing there are subject to no taxes, nor the performance of municipal duties; and it is considered as settled by the Judiciary, that they are not entitled to the ordinary rights and privileges of our citizens. The land appropriated, was valued by a Jury at 37,280 dollars. A part of it is used for the Marine Hospital, and a part by the Military department, which is accommodated with stores, a magazine and barracks. The Navy department is furnished with an elegant dwelling house, extensive brick buildings for stores, lofts, &c. a spacious wharf, batteries, and other conveniences, which are nearly completed. The principal officer is Commodore William Bainbridge.

Brig. Gen. Thomas H. Cushing of the U. S. army, quarters here. There is also a house used as a military hospital, of which Benjamin Waterhouse, M. D. is surgeon, and about 300 soldiers, most of whom are prisoners on parole.

† This Canal, which affords a water communication from Boston to Merrimack river, terminates on the peninsula at Charlestown. For a particular description of this immense undertaking, see Morse's Universal Geography, fourth edition. Vol. I. p. 348. The President is Aaron Dexter, Esq.

‡ The Marine Hospital of the United States is 100 feet by 40, two stories high, and a basement; it is accommodated with kitchens, a spacious hall, and nineteen rooms, with a garden. The average number of patients is stated at 30. It is controlled by the Collector of the Customs, and conducted by an overseer or steward, under the direction of the surgeon, who is David Townsend, M. D.

1803, for the accommodation of sick and disabled seamen; and the State Prison * built in 1805, for the punishment, employment and reformation of convicts, have given us publicity; and we cherish a belief, that these important circumstances and establishments, will be so estimated and conducted, as to answer the publick expectations, and promote the happiness of the town.

On political occurrences I shall remark generally, that during our connexion with Great Britain, we enjoyed the customary privileges; a due proportion of the inhabitants were appointed to important offices; there was a regular compliance with the requirements of government, and a cheerful support of the publick burthens. But we participated fully in the effects of the stamp act in 1765, the revenue bill in 1768, the port bill in 1774, and of other tokens of ministerial impolicy. In proof of our patriotism it may be observed, that at the commencement of serious opposition † to parliamentary measures, WE UNITED, as I hope we ever shall, to resist oppression, and that but a single inhabitant,‡ sought protection from the parent country, whilst many § engaged, in various

* This Prison is said to be as secure as any in the world. It is 200 feet long, 44 wide and 38 high, containing 90 cells for convicts, with kitchens, convenient rooms for officers, and guards, a chapel, hospital, store, work shops, and bathing place. The yard, in which is a garden, is encompassed with a stone wall, 375 by 260, and 15 feet high, on which the guards are stationed. The number of convicts admitted from Dec. 1805, to the time of this address, is 640, of whom 296 have been discharged, 80 pardoned, 9 escaped, 22 died, 1 shot, and 232 remain. The visitors are the Supreme Executive of the Commonwealth, and the Supreme Judicial Court. The directors are James Prince, James T. Austin, and Caleb Bingham, Esq'rs.; the warden is Capt. Gamaliel Bradford; and the physician is Josiah Bartlett, M. D.

† E. N. a respectable citizen of this town, lately deceased at the age of 78, has repeatedly mentioned to the writer, that he was among the *Indians*, who destroyed the tea at Boston in 1774.

‡ Thomas Danforth, Esq. who was the only attorney at law in the town.

§ At the commencement of hostilities, a company of our inhabitants was raised and served eight months. It was in the battle on Breed's hill. The officers were **Capt.* Josiah Harris, **Lieut.* Bartholomew Trow, *Ensign* Thomas Miller, *Sergeants*, James Berry, Timothy Thompson, *Samuel Moore and Francis Greene.

The citizens of this town, who held appointments in the army, and served for different periods, were,—In the *line*, Captains *Benjamin Frothingham, *Eliphalet Newell, and *William Harris. In the *medical department*, Doctors *Isaac Rand, who attended small pox patients, *Isaac Foster, an hospital surgeon, and afterward a deputy director general, Thomas Welsh, a regimental surgeon, and Josiah Bartlett, a hospital mate, and afterward surgeon. In the *commissary's department*, *Ezekiel Cheever, Richard Frothingham, and Thomas Frothingham, jun.—*Those marked* are dead.*

Benjamin Frothingham, Isaac Foster, Josiah Bartlett, Ezekiel Cheever, Richard Frothingham, and Thomas Frothingham, jun. continued during the war.

stations in the revolutionary army, and some continued until the termination of the contest.

During the confederation of the United States, and the first administration of the federal government, we were tolerably united in principles and conduct; but a question on the adoption of the British treaty in 1795, revived our prejudices; and the commotions of Europe, aided perhaps by that spirit of rivalship which is inseparable from the human character, excited in our citizens, those unhappy divisions, which paralyze the energies of our country, and threaten us with the most serious calamities. May we all cultivate union, candour, moderation, and forbearance; and let us remember, that by a noble support of a free constitution, ancient Rome was elevated to happiness and glory; but by innovations and animosities, she fell from her exalted rank to infamy and slavery.

If we except the years 1809 and 1812 (when a union ticket prevailed) the affairs of the town have for a long period been exclusively administered * by those, who espouse the present measures of our national government; but it is pleasing to reflect, that political dissensions have not destroyed our social intercourse, our mutual charities, or the personal confidence of our citizens in each other.

From the adoption of the constitution in 1780, we chose but one representative annually to the General Court, until 1803, when we elected two; in 1804 three; in 1805 four; and in 1806 five, which number has been continued to the last election, when by an equality of suffrages, for the different candidates, and an unintentional errour in declaring the choice, the seats of four were vacated, and we are again reduced to a single member,†

* The present *Selectmen* (1813) are David Goodwin, Esq. Messrs. Timothy Thompson and Richard Frothingham, Col. Isaac Smith, Mr. Peter Tufts, Capt. Joseph Miller and Mr. John Tapley. *Town Clerk*, John Kettell, Esq. *Treasurer*, Mr. David Devens.

Elected 1814. *Selectmen*, David Goodwin, John Soley, and Jeremiah Evarts, Esq'rs. Deac. Amos Tufts, Messrs. Samuel Payson, Peter Tufts, and Joseph Tufts. *Clerk*, Mr David Dodge. *Treasurer*, Mr. D. Devens.

† Capt. Joseph Miller. His *predecessors in office* from the operation of the constitution were *Timothy Tufts, Esq. *Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, Thomas Harris, and *Richard Devens, Esq'rs. Hon. Josiah Bartlett, *Aaron Putnam, Esq. Hon. Matthew Bridge, David Goodwin, Esq. Messrs. Richard Frothingham, and Seth Wyman, Col. Nathaniel Hawkins, Messrs. Elijah Mead,

on whom the responsibility devolves, at this most important crisis.

We have usually furnished a senator for the district of Middlesex, and repeatedly a member of the supreme executive.* One of our respected inhabitants, who served in various offices, was, for many years, the commissary general † of this commonwealth. We were also honoured with a president of congress under the confederation ; who was afterward a member of that august assembly that formed the constitution of the United States, and of the convention of this State that ratified it.‡

This town enjoyed the residence, and here are deposited the ashes of the most distinguished benefactor § of

Daniel Tufts, Timothy Thompson, and David Devens ; Peter Tufts, jun. John Kettell, and William Austin, Esqrs. Elected for 1814—Joseph Hurd and John Soley, Esqrs. and Mr. Joseph Tufts, who do not espouse the measures of the national government.

* The inhabitants, who have served as *senators*, under the present constitution, are *Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, Josiah Bartlett, Matthew Bridge, and Samuel Dana. As *members of the council*, *Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, Josiah Bartlett, and Artemas Ward.

† Richard Devens, Esq. who died in 1807, aged 86. "From a native strength of mind, quick discernment, and commendable industry, he was qualified for distinguished usefulness. He sustained at different periods the most important town offices ; was a magistrate and legislator ; and bequeathed a large sum for charitable purposes." For a particular delineation of his character, see Panoplist, vol. III. p. 239.

‡ Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, who died in 1796, aged 58. Having served in various town offices, he was chosen representative in 1771, and from that period was seldom disengaged from publick employments. He was Speaker of the House ; a Judge of the county Court, and, at the time of his death, supervisor of the national revenue for the district of Massachusetts. In testimony of his merits and important services, and in compliance with a vote of the town, an eulogy on his character was delivered, June 11, 1796, by Thomas Welsh, M. D. and is published.

§ John Harvard died in 1638. All that can be ascertained of this gentleman is, that he had been a minister in England, and died soon after his arrival in this country ; that he preached a short time in this town, and bequeathed about eight hundred pounds to the College. The writer has repeatedly searched for his grave, but could discover nothing to designate it.

The following inhabitants of Charlestown (including exiles by the war in 1775) received *degrees at Harvard College*, and their names are copied from the *Catalogue*. For information on this subject before the memory of the writer, he is indebted to the politeness of the Hon. William Winthrop, of Cambridge, who is a descendant of the fifth generation from Governour Winthrop.

Those, who are not marked as dead, and have no place of residence annexed, are now inhabitants of the town.

1647 **Comfort Star*, Mr. Socius.
53 *Samuel Nowell, Mr. Thesau.
*Joshua Long, Mr.
56 *Thomas Greaves, Mr. Soc.
57 **Zechariah Symmes*, Mr. Soc.
*Zechariah Brigden, Mr. Soc.
1658 **Benjamin Bunker*, Mr.
63 *Nathaniel Cutler.
64 *Alexander Nowell, Mr. Soc.
69 *Daniel Russell, Mr. Soc.
71 **Isaac Foster*, Mr. Soc.
*Samuel Phipps, Mr.

Harvard University; and there are many of our departed citizens, who were highly esteemed as clergy, judges, legislators, magistrates, and publick benefactors.*

86 *Nicholas Morton.
90 *Nicholas Lynde.
91 **Joseph Lord*, Mr.
1703 *Thomas Greaves, Mr. Mass. Prov. Cur. Sup. Jurid.
20 **Joseph Stimson*, Mr.
22 *Seth Sweetser, Mr.
23 *Joseph Lynde, Mr.
24 *Henry Phillips, Mr.
25 *Edward Dowse.
26 *Thomas Greaves, Mr.
27 **Benjamin Kent*, Mr.
28 **Simon Bradstreet*, Mr.
31 *Chambers Russell, Mr. Mass. Prov. Cur. Sup. Jurid.
*Joseph Kent, Mr.
32 **Thomas Skinner*, Mr.
35 *Daniel Russell, Mr.
*John Bunker, Mr.
39 *Jonathan Kent, Mr.
40 **Benjamin Stevens*, Mr. S. T. D.
*Samuel Henley, Mr.
50 *Thomas Cheever, Mr.
52 *William Foster, Mr.
53 *David Jenner.
57 *Charles Russell, M. D. Aberd.
58 *David Wyer, Mr.
*Isaac Foster, Mr.
59 *John Gorham, Mr.
61 **Thomas Carey*, Mr.
Isaac Rand, Mr. M. D. M. M. S. Vice Præses et Præses. S. M. Lond. Soc. Corresp. A. A. et S. H. S. *Boston.*
63 *Richard Carey, Mr.
64 **Thomas Abbot*, Mr.
*Thomas Brigden, Mr.
66 *Joseph Dowse.
1766 *John Stevens, Mr.
71 John A. Mason, Mr. *Boston.*
John Frothingham, Mr. *Portland.*
72 Thomas Welsh, M. D. M. M. S. et A. A. Soc. *Boston.*
76 *Ezekiel Henley, Mr.
Isaac Hurd, Mr. M. M. S. Soc. *Concord.*
William Stearns, Mr. *Salem.*
77 *Jacob Conant.
78 Josiah Bartlett, M.B. 1791. M.D. 1809. M. M. S. A. A. et S. H. S.
81 *Timothy Swan.
82 *Richard Codman, Mr.
87 *Thaddeus M. Harris*, Mr. Bib. S. T. D. S. H. et A. A. S. *Dorchester.*
88 James Gardner, Mr. M. D. M.M. S. Soc. *Lynn.*
90 Abijah Tufts, Mr. *Virginia.*
92 John Gorham, Mr.
95 Benjamin Gorham, Mr. *Boston.*
97 Joseph Hurd, Mr.
*Benjamin Wood
98 William Austin, Mr.
Henry Gardner, Mr. M.D. M.M. S. Soc. *Malden.*
1800 *Aaron H. Putnam, Mr.
3 Abner Gardner, Mr. *Roxbury.*
4 Oliver Brown, Mr.
5 Isaac Warren, Mr. *Concord.*
6 *Isaac Hurd*, Mr. *Lynn.*
7 Joseph Tufts, Mr.
10 Joseph Eaton.
William J. Walker, Mr. M. D.
11 Charles Hurd.
James Russell.
13 Gorham Bartlett.
Henry Thompson.

The following additional graduates at *Harvard College* reside in town at this time.

1782 Samuel Payson, Mr.
86 Elias H. Derby, Mr. 1803.
95 Samuel J. Prescott, Mr.
1801 Elias Phinney, Mr.
2 Henry Adams, Mr.

At *Yale College*, New Haven.

1783 *Jedidiah Morse*, Mr. et Nass. Tutor. S. T. D. Edin. A. A. et S. H. Mass. Soc.
1802 Jeremiah Evarts, Mr. C. A. Soc.
1810 Samuel F. B. Morse.
11 Sydney E. Morse.
12 Richard C. Morse.
Theodore Dexter.

At *Providence College*. 1797 *William Collier*, Mr. 1802 Benj. Gleason, Mr.

At *Dartmouth College*, Hanover.

1808 Leonard M. Parker. 1811 Abraham Andrews and William Gordon.

Abraham R. Thompson entered in 1795, and continued till 1797.

Inhabitants who are *undergraduates* at *Harvard College*. John M. Fiske, Josiah Bartlett, Jun. Samuel Bridge, John L. Payson, Samuel Soley.

1665 *Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck, the only Indian who ever received a degree at Harvard College, died at Charlestown in 1666, aged 20.

* The present magistrates are, *justices through the state*, Hon. Samuel Dana, (who has been president of the senate, and is chief justice of the Circuit Court

Our military arrangements have generally been respectable. As early as 1630, a lot of land was designated as a training field, and has been continued by that name, and for that use, to this time. Our present military force are three companies of militia, all of which are well officered and provided; an artillery company formed in 1786, and two companies of light infantry in 1804. These are so completely equipped and disciplined, as to sustain an equal rank with any in the commonwealth. We have now a brigadier general, three field officers,

of Common Pleas) and Josiah Bartlett, Esqrs. *Justices of the quorum*, John Soley and John Kettell, Esqrs. *Justices of the peace*, Benjamin Hurd, Joseph Hurd, Oliver Holden, David Goodwin, Thomas Harris, *Abner Rogers, Matthew Bridge, Henry Adams, H. W. Gordon, Peter Tufts, Jun. William Austin, Elias Phinney, and Elias H. Derby, Esquires. Mr. Rogers died Feb. 23, 1814, aged 35.

There are many ancient epitaphs on the *burying hill*, most of which are not legible. The following have been copied with difficulty, and may serve as a specimen of the taste of our forefathers.

"Here lieth the body of Mr. John Greene, born at London, in Old England, who married Perseverance the daughter of ——— Johnson in Amsterdam, by whom he had six children; with whom and three children he came to Charlestown, in New-England, in 1632, was ruling elder of the church, and deceased April 22, 1658, aged 65, leaving behind two sons and one daughter, viz. John, Jacob, and Mary, who erected this monument to the memory of him and his wife, their father and mother."

"Here lies interred the body of Richard Russell, Esq. who served his country as treasurer, more than a treble prentiship, and as a magistrate sixteen years; who departed this life the 14th of May, 1676, being the 65th year of his age.

A saint, a husband, and a faithful brother,
A friend, scarce equalled by any other,
A saint, that walked high in either way,
In godliness and honesty all say.
A husband rare to both his darling wives,
To her deceas'd, to her who him survives.
A father politick, and husband kind,
Unto our state in treasureship we find.
Of fathers good, as best to own to those,
On him a fathership law did impose,
A Moses brother kind, good Aaron lov'd,
On whom love showers, full of strength improve,
A friend to needy poor, whom he refresh'd,
The poor may well lament their friend suppress'd,
In time of war he was remov'd in peace,
From sin and woes to glory, by his decease."

I copied the above from the original stone in 1787, and it was replaced by the descendants at that time on a tablet of *soft free stone*, which is not proper for such uses, as the inscription is now almost effaced.

"Here lies the body of John Phillips, Esq. who departed this life March 20, 1725, ætatis suæ 94, who served in divers posts; was some time judge of the admiralty, and treasurer of the province; as colonel and chief officer of the regiment ab anno 1689 ad annum 1715; as one of the justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and one of his majesty's council, ab anno 1689 ad annum 1716, successively."

The tomb stone of Capt. Richard Sprague (one of the first comers from Salem) is to be seen: but the whole inscription is not legible.

two brigade staff officers, and a regimental surgeon.* Several of our citizens are members, and we have recently furnished a commander † of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, which, in 1638, was formed at Boston, as a school for officers, and is the oldest military establishment in the United States.

The learned professions,‡ as they are termed, have been honourably encouraged, decently remunerated, and, in general, properly conducted. But constantly varying in theory, and from their nature involved in obscurity, they are liable to abuses; and their usefulness is oftener lessened by unworthy conduct in their members to each other, than by a want of candour in the publick.

Our free schools were incorporated by a special act of the legislature, in 1793. They are governed by seven trustees § occasionally elected by the town in May. They are liberally endowed by permament funds and annual appropriations.‖ The trust is now in charge of those who are competent and faithful. Let it be our care to

* The *militia companies* are commanded by captains Lot Pool, Robert Tenney, and John Gibbs. The *Artillery*, by captain Loammi Kendall. The *Warren Phalanx*, by captain Samuel T. Armstrong, and the *Light Infantry*, by captain James K. Frothingham. The other officers are, brigadier general Nathaniel Austin, Jun. (who is sheriff of the county) colonel Jonathan Page, majors Joshua B. Phipps, and William Fernald. Brigade quarter master, major Timothy Walker, brigade major and inspector, major Samuel Jaques. Surgeon, Abraham R. Thompson, L. M.

† Captain Melzar Holmes.

‡ The *clergy* are Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D. D. and William Collier, A. M. The Universal church is vacant, but Rev. Edward Turner is soon to be installed.

*Attorneys at law.*—William Austin, * Abner Rogers, Elias Phinney, Henry Adams, and Joseph Tufts, Esqrs. and Leonard M. Parker, A. B.

*Practitioners in medicine.*—Josiah Bartlett, M. D. and Abraham R. Thompson, L. M. who are fellows of the Massachusetts Medical Society. Theodore Dexter, A. B. a candidate for practice.

§ The present board are the Rev. William Collier, *President;* Capt. Nehemiah Wyman, *Treasurer;* Dr. Abraham R. Thompson, *Secretary;* Messrs. George Bartlett and David Stetson, Capt. Joseph Miller, and Mr. Daniel Reed.

Their *predecessors in office* were * Richard Devens, Esq. * Hon. Nath. Gorham, and Josiah Bartlett; * Aaron Putnam and Joseph Hurd, Esqrs. Col. Nath. Hawkins and Mr. Seth Wyman (who are named in the act) Messrs. Samuel Tufts and Jonathan Teel, Rev. Jedidiah Morse, Benjamin Hurd, Esq. Mr. Timothy Thompson, Maj. Timothy Walker, David Goodwin, Esq. Hon. Matthew Bridge, Thomas Harris, Esq. Messrs. Samuel Payson, Joseph Phipps, John Stone, Elijah Mead, James Greene, John Tufts, and Samuel Thompson; Peter Tufts, Jun. and John Kettell, Esqrs. Messrs. Samuel Kent, Daniel Parker, David Devens, Jonas Tyler, Philemon R. Russell, and Ebenezer Cutter, William Austin, Esq.

The *instructers on the peninsula*, are Abraham Andrews, A. B. Messrs. David Dodge, John Bennet, and Oliver Jaqueth. *Without the neck*, Messrs. Moses Hall, Jacob Pierce, and Benjamin Greene.

‖ The permanent fund is $5081, and the appropriation for 1813 $ 3500.

strengthen their hands, and encourage their hearts; for FREE SCHOOLS were the glory of our ancestors, they are the boast of New-England, and the palladium of our future prosperity.

In the year which is nearly closed, an extensive society * of all the religious denominations, and of different political principles, has been organized for the reformation of morals, which, if prudently conducted, may tend to the peace and happiness of the town.

By a display of publick spirit, and with a degree of unanimity, ominous of future success, this handsome, convenient EDIFICE,† designed for the accommodation of our reading society,‡ and for purposes like the present, has been expeditiously completed, and in the act of incorporation § is designated by the name of WASHINGTON HALL.

* The president is Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D. D.

† This is a brick building, situated on the main street, and accommodated with a handsome rear entrance from *Town Hill*. It is 53 feet long, 29 feet wide, and three stories high. The property is vested in fifty shares, subscribed for by 34 persons, viz. Benjamin Swift 5 *shares*, Joseph Hurd 3, Timothy Walker 3, Ashur Adams 3, Josiah Bartlett 3, Jedidiah Morse 2, Nathan Tufts 2, Apollos Field 2, Richard Boylston 2, David Stetson, Nathaniel Austin, Jun. Samuel Soley, William Pratt, Thomas Kettell, Stephen Gorham, Chester Adams, Nathan Adams, Thomas Osgood, Elias Phinney, Oliver Jaqueth, Benjamin Adams, John Soley, Ab. R. Thompson, Henry Adams, Elisha Wheeler, Thomas Boylston, *Benjamin Hurd, Jun. Samuel Kidder, John Skinner, William Fernald, Samuel Jaques, Isaac Warren, Amos Tufts, and Jeremiah Evarts 1 *each*. Mr. Hurd died Sept. 15, 1813, aged 37.

The expense, including the land, was $6250. The cellar and lower story are used for an elegant druggist's store; the second story is for reading and news rooms; in the third is the Hall, and a convenient drawing room, appropriated for various uses. In the yard is an office about 15 feet square, occupied by Mr. James Frothingham 3d, portrait painter.

‡ This institution is furnished by the "Washington Hall Association" with newspapers, books, &c. of which there is a considerable collection. Subscribers are admitted by the Directors, each of which pay $5 a year. The present number is 85, and the officers of the association, elected 1814, are Joseph Hurd, Esq. *President;* Major Timothy Walker, *Vice-President;* Mr. Samuel Soley, *Clerk and Treasurer;* John Soley, Esq. and Mr. Thomas Kettell, who form a *board of Directors.*

The other *reading Society* has a room in the Square; the subscribers pay $5 a year, the number is 53, and the officers are Major William Thompson, *President;* John Kettell, Esq. Messrs. Jesse Brown, Leonard M. Parker, and Kendall Bailey, *Committee;* Maj. W. Thompson *Treasurer;* L. M. Parker, A. B. *Clerk.*

§ "COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

*An Act to incorporate sundry persons in Charlestown, in the county of Middlesex, by the name of the Washington Hall Association.*

SECT. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same,* That Joseph Hurd, Josiah Bartlett, David Stetson, Timothy Walker, and Benjamin Swift, with such others as have associated, and purchased a lot of land, bounded thirty feet on the main street, in said Charlestown, running back one hundred and fifty feet, and are erecting a building thereon by the name of Washington Hall, for offices,

We now solemnly and joyfully dedicate it to the memory of that ILLUSTRIOUS, UNEQUALLED PATRIOT whose name it bears. Here may we venerate his virtues, cultivate his principles, and practise by his example. Within these walls may our successors manfully support the doctrines of rational liberty; and when an hundred and eighty five years, the period we have so imperfectly reviewed, shall have again expired, may they recognize the efforts of the present era, as we now celebrate the exertions of those who have passed before us to the regions of immortality.

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## APPENDIX.

THE following is a detail of the births and deaths (before noticed) *on the peninsula* for the past 25 years.

| Years. | Births. | Deaths. | Years. | Births. | Deaths. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1789 | 52 | 22 | 1803 | 135 | 57 |
| 90 | 40 | 35 | 4 | 140 | 79 |
| 91 | 47 | 26 | 5 | 150 | 68 |
| 92 | 46 | 32 | 6 | 200 | 80 |
| 93 | 64 | 32 | 7 | 190 | 90 |
| 94 | 70 | 26 | 8 | 200 | 47 |
| 95 | 77 | 38 | 9 | 197 | 78 |
| 96 | 83 | 65 | 10 | 228 | 63 |
| 97 | 103 | 50 | 11 | 220 | 100 |
| 98 | 93 | 40 | 12 | 233 | 93 |
| 99 | 93 | 40 | | 228 | 115 |
| 1800 | 102 | 60 | | | |
| 1 | 114 | 95 | | 3225 | 1510 |
| 2 | 120 | 79 | | | |

reading rooms, and other purposes; be, and they are hereby incorporated, for holding in fee simple, and managing the affairs of the said estate, which is divided into fifty shares; and they are authorized to use a common seal, and to establish such by laws, relating to the said corporation, as are not repugnant to the constitution and laws of this Commonwealth; provided the annual income of said corporation shall not exceed the sum of fifteen hundred dollars.

SECT. 2. *Be it further enacted*, That said Joseph Hurd be authorized to call the first meeting of the said corporation, by a written notification to each member, at least three days before the time of meeting.

Approved, June 16, 1813. CALEB STRONG.

The persons named in the act were the *Directors*, to provide materials, make contracts, and conduct the erection of the building. Mr. Chester Adams was *Clerk and Treasurer*.

A census of the inhabitants of Charlestown, taken in August and September, 1810, by Mr. Timothy Thompson, Jun. who was appointed for that purpose by the marshal of the United States for the district of Massachusetts.

| | Males. | Females. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under ten years of age | 651 | 771 | |
| From ten to sixteen | 308 | 351 | |
| sixteen to twenty six | 496 | 510 | |
| twenty six to forty five | 612 | 496 | |
| forty five and upwards | 281 | 260 | |
| Convicts in the State Prison | 195 | 5 | |
| | 2543 | 2393 | —4936 |

Included above, are 25 black males and 37 females.

Mr. Thompson has also furnished the following account of manufactures in the town, taken at the same time.

| Articles. | Value per year. |
|---|---|
| Eighteen millions bricks | 650,000 |
| One hundred and seventy chaises | 34,000 |
| Two hundred and fifty gallons rum per day | 50,000 |
| Four thousand hides tanned | 28,000 |
| Cordage | 106,000 |
| Twine | 1,500 |
| One hundred and fifty thousand morocco skins | 225,000 |
| Stone and earthen ware | 6,500 |
| Thirty thousand pounds fine soap | 9,000 |
| Ninety thousand pounds common do. | 9,000 |
| Ten thousand boxes mould candles | 70,000 |
| Four thousand hats | 14,000 |
| Plated ware | 7,550 |
| Cabinet work | 19,000 |
| Twenty eight hundred and fifty yards common weaving | 2,113 |
| | $1,231,663 |

Establishments for preparing spirit of turpentine and lamp black, and for a brewery, were not valued.

There have been, an extensive distillery erected, two tan yards completed, a factory for preparations of vitriol established, and salt petre works commenced, since the census was taken; but it is the opinion of competent judges, that the manufactory of bricks, chaises, cordage, morocco leather, plated ware, and cabinet work, has greatly lessened since that period.

The Schools are in a state of great prosperity; as will be shewn by the following extract from a report of the trustees to the town, May 2, 1814.

"At the late examinations, we found the schools under the most perfect government, and in the highest state of improvement; we cannot refain from congratulating our fellow-citizens on a situation of their publick schools, so auspicious to the best interests of the town, so gratifying to the dearest hopes of parents, and bearing such honourable testimony to the eminent ability and fidelity of the instructers."

On the acceptance of the report, the town voted one thousand dollars in addition to the usual annual appropriation, for the education of young children; in consequence of which, twenty one districts are established, and to each a schoolmistress is appointed, for the instruction of those, from four to seven years of age, the whole number of whom is four hundred and twenty five; the scholars of both sexes, in the other schools, from seven to fourteen years of age, are seven hundred and seventeen; which makes the whole number, instructed at the expense of the town, eleven hundred and forty two.

A publick support of schools, kept by women, for primary instruction, and free to every inhabitant, under the direction of the trustees, though novel, is honourable to the town, and affords a pleasing presage of future improvement.

*Charlestown, May* 9, 1814.

## BRIEF HISTORY OF THE "ANCIENT AND HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY."

[*Extracted from the original records*, 1803. Ed.]

1638, April 24. AN order was granted, signed by John Winthrop, governour, and Thomas Dudley, deputy governour, to Robert Keine and others, by which they and their successors were incorporated by the name of "the Military Company of the Massachusetts." Among their privileges were, "that no officer should be put upon "them, but of their own free choice;" "that no other "trainings, nor other ordinary town meetings, be in the "towns on the first Monday of the month, their stated "meeting;" "that they may assemble in any town "within this jurisdiction." At the same time they had a gift of 1000 acres of land.

1673, October 15. A return was made and approved by the General Court, dated 11th Sept. laying out the 1000 acres on the Merrimack river; and 500 acres more were granted, adjoining the former.

1685—1691. There was an intermission during Sir Edmund Andros's government.

1700, September 2. The title "Ancient and Honourable" is first used in the records. In the articles, then agreed to by the successors of the original members, they continue to be styled, "the Military Company of Massachusetts."

1731, June 14. An order passed the House of Representatives, in consequence of a petition from the company, by a committee, empowering them to "sell their lands, and invest the produce in such other real estate as may be most for their advantage."

1748. A town meeting was called at Boston; but being contrary to the company's charter, it was declared null and void.

1749, June 15. An order passed the Council, and was concurred in by the House of Representatives, Jan. 13, in consequence of a petition from the company, that certain taxes imposed on the treasurer for three years past, by the assessor of the town of Boston, amounting to *l.* 45, 13*s* 4, *O. T.* be remitted; and that all donations to

the company be exempt from all taxes until this Court order otherwise."

1775—1786. An intermission by reason of the war, &c.

Aug. 4. The company met, and voted that the officers chosen June, 1774, continue as such till June next.

Members' names registered 1300. Gen. Winslow observed, (April, 1803) there are about 100 to be recorded.

A list of those who have preached the annual sermon, on their election of officers, with the texts, &c. was prepared by the compiler of this article, and published with Rev. Mr. Foster's sermon, 1809. A list of the preachers, on the general election of counsellors in Massachusetts, was also added to Rev. Dr. Osgood's sermon, that year. Both these, omitting the texts, are contained, with various other lists, of preachers and orators on publick occasions, in the catalogue of the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 8vo. 1811, p. 84—91. A list, of those, who have commanded the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, is annexed to Rev. Dr. Wood's sermon in 1808.

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ORIGINAL LETTER FROM REVEREND BENJAMIN COLMAN, D. D. TO THE HONOURABLE JONATHAN BELCHER, ESQUIRE.*

[*It is known to be in the hand writing of Dr. C. and is from a file of MSS. presented to the editor by Mr. William Taylor*, 1798.]

Sir, *Boston, August* 22, 1743.

PREACHING with Mr. Byles yesterday, I was informed by him that you were determined on a voyage to London in the mast-ships. I am sure then it is my duty to attend you over sea, with the best wishes and fervent prayers of a most sacred friendship; which your personal worth commanded and constrained long before it pleased the king to honour you with his commission of commander in chief over us; and the undeserved regard with which your excellency honoured me through all the years of your filling the chair, have laid new bonds upon me, never to be forgotten. When you came over

* He was governour of the colony of the Massachusetts Bay from 1730 to 1740. See an admirable life of him in Dr. Eliot's Biograph. Dictionary, p. 52—7. Ed.

governour, mine was the highest joy; and when you left the chair, none but your own family felt an equal grief. Indeed I have been very happy, through the whole forty years of my ministry in the town, that I have honoured and truly reverenced all the governours, whom it has pleased the king to set over us, and they have all had an excellency of one kind and degree or other, which gave a pleasure in rendering the respect which their high station demanded. It has been a circumstance through life, in which a most gracious providence is to be devoutly acknowledged. And though I seldom wait on the present governour,* yet his excellency seems to venerate me for my age, and does me the justice to number me among his friends.

Since your excellency left the chair, you have honoured me with the most endearing testimonies of a religious confidence, wherein you have once and again edified, warmed, and humbled me, and increased the veneration I had for you in your more publick life. May the divine Presence and Influence fill up your remaining days on earth with satisfactions, which this world and all the glories of it can never give, nor the absence of them take away. Your treasure and your reward, may it be on high; and whatever merit you may be able to plead before an earthly sovereign, and his high ministers of state, whose instructions were, it may be, but too sacred with you, because of the oath of God as you kneeled at his majesty's feet; may a righteous and gracious sovereign attend to your just plea, and give you your petition.

We all here know, that you spent a great part of your paternal estate, beside what you had yourself acquired in your youth, while you were in the chair over us; and it will rejoice many of us, his majesty's faithful subjects here, if, of his great goodness, he shall please to make your old age easy and honourable, by any royal allowances, "*ut in otia tuta recedas*," as *Juvenal* has it.

Sir, I cannot possibly omit writing to Mrs. Holden, Dr. Watts, and Dr. Guyse, on such an occasion as your going from us; will it please you to honour the letters with a place in your chest, and could there be room for a small pacquet to the Doctor, from whom your excel-

* His Excellency William Shirley, Esq. Governour, from 1740—57.

lency has often, with pleasure, received for me and others.

May the Most High, whom seas and winds obey, favour you, sir, with a most prosperous voyage, and his comforts refresh your soul every morning and evening in your absence from us: may you find your beloved Jonathan in health, and he have the joy again of your tender embraces; may every just desire of your heart be granted you, and a glad return to us, or a more happy enjoyment of life than America can pretend to afford you, be chosen for you by the God of your life: May he give his angels charge over you in all your way, and may his grace be ever with your spirit, to guide and preserve you to his heavenly glory. And with a return of like affection and supplication, when before the throne, please (dear and ever honoured sir) ever to remember your most unworthy, most obliged, dutiful humble servant, B. C.

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A LETTER FROM MR. SAMUEL QUINCY TO THE HONOURABLE EDMUND QUINCY, ESQ.

DEAR SIR, *Savannah, Oct.* 23, 1735.

YOURS by Mr. Foster, together with a kind present, came to hand, for which I return you and my good cousin a great many thanks. We are in daily expectation of the arrival of Mr. Oglethorpe, who comes over to over-see the building of forts on our frontiers, pursuant to the king's orders. Affairs here are but in an ill situation, through the discouragements attending the settlement, which have rendered some of the better sort of people very discontented, and if the trustee, who comes over, does not remove them, I believe many will leave the place. The magistrate, to whom the government of the colony was left, proves a most insolent and tyrannical fellow. Several just complaints have been sent home against him, which do not meet with a proper regard, and this has made people very uneasie. Indeed it has a very ill aspect; for it looks as if they designed to estab-

lish arbitrary government, and reduce the people to a condition little better than that of slavery. There are some things likewise in their very constitution, which looks this way; the tenure by which they hold their land subjects them to a kind of vassalage, not consistent with a free people. In short, Georgia, which was seemingly intended to be the asylum of the distressed, unless things are greatly altered, is likely to be itself a mere scene of distress. Some of the people, to support their extravagance, and others out of real necessity, have run themselves miserably in debt; the store-keepers having given them credit in hopes of possessing themselves of their houses, and even their persons, by obliging them to be their servants; and if the trustees do not disconcert these designs, great numbers must be unavoidably ruined; though to do this must needs ruin the store-keepers, for they are most of them deeply indebted to their merchants in Carolina: But I think indeed they deserve no pity, because their designs appear to have been rapacious and dishonest. This is our present condition, and the small improvements that are made on lands, gives us a very indifferent future prospect. Notwithstanding the place has been settled nigh three years, I believe I may venture to say there is not one family, which can subsist without farther assistance, and most would starve if they had not dependence on the trustees; but the trustees have raised very large assistance to carry it on, and will no doubt do their utmost to support it, and therefore it is to be hoped that it may in time come to something, though on the present footing things are established, it will never be a desirable place, and therefore none will choose to settle in it who can remove elsewhere, unless it be some who are particularly favoured by the trustees. I heartily pray for your and family's welfare, and am,

Dear sir, your affectionate kinsman,
and most humble servant,

S. QUINCY.

## REMARKS ON THE BISHOP OF OXFORD'S SERMON PREACHED BEFORE THE INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, 1740, 1.

[THE following is published from a very fair manuscript of Rev. ANDREW ELIOT, D. D. the father and immediate predecessor of the late ever to be lamented Rev. JOHN ELIOT, D. D. of this town. "Extracts from these Remarks, &c. were published in England by Dr. *Francis Blackburne*," * archdeacon of Cleaveland, with whom the author held a correspondence. It is believed, and indeed may be asserted, that they were never printed entire. Although the controversy is now at rest, it has been thought that the views here given, would be interesting to many of our readers, and are well worth preserving, on account of the historical facts they include, as well as for their merit as a composition. The writer was one of the bright lights of our nation. Of these *Remarks*, he speaks to his correspondent, Mr. Thomas Hollis, as follows. "7 Dec. 1767. "When I saw your MS. note, I immediately wrote some remarks "which I designed for the press; but upon communicating the ser-"mon to Dr. Chauncy, he said he would insert some marginal notes "relative to it.† I wish he had said more about it, than I find he "has. I send you a copy, which you are at liberty to make what "use of you please." ED.]

THE Bishop of Oxford, now his grace of Canterbury, [Thomas Secker, D. D.] in his sermon preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, &c. acquaints his auditory, that the Society was "established, first, for the support of christianity in our colonies and factories abroad, then for the propagation of it amongst the heathens intermixed with them, and bordering upon them." "Every possible reason," says his lordship, "required our predecessors in this excellent undertaking to begin with inspecting the state of the English plantations in America."

To prove this fundamental point, his lordship paints the state of the British colonies in the blackest colours. "The first European inhabitants———too many of them, carried but little sense of christianity abroad with them: A great part of the rest suffered it to wear out gradually; and their children grew of course to have

* New-England Biographical Dictionary, by J. ELIOT, D. D. p. 193, note.

† In his observations on Dr. Ewer's, lord bishop of Landaff, sermon 1767. A letter to Dr. E. was also published by the celebrated William Livingston, on his lordship's sermon. ED.

yet less than they; till in some countries there were scarce any footsteps of it left, beyond the mere name. No teacher was known, no religious assembly was held; the Lord's day distinguished only by more general dissoluteness; the sacrament of baptism not administered for near twenty years together, nor that of the Lord's supper for near sixty, amongst many thousands of people, who did not deny the obligation of these duties, but lived notwithstanding in a stupid neglect of them. Such was the state of things *in more of our colonies than one; and where it was a* LITTLE BETTER, it was, however, *lamentably bad.*"

In how many, or in which of the colonies, this was the melancholy state, his lordship doth not say; it was "*in more than one;*" in the rest it was only "A LITTLE BETTER;" in all it was "*lamentably bad.*" Bad it was indeed, if the representation in the words that immediately follow is, in any measure, just. "Some persons seem very desirous of seeing what sort of creatures men would be, without the knowledge of God. Here a sufficient trial was made of this: And it shewed, to an unhappy degree of certainty, that they would be wicked, and profligate, and brutal in every respect, and return, in a few generations, to entire barbarism." "In these circumstances, the poor inhabitants made, *from* ALL *parts*, the most affecting representations of their deplorable condition: The truth of which was but too fully confirmed by their respective governours, and the persons of principal note in *each* province. There could not be worthier objects of regard, than such complainants. And if they, who remained insensible, did not deserve pity so much, they wanted it still more."

Nothing could be more finely imagined than this state of the colonies; or better adapted to excite the compassion of the hearers, and to procure a large collection for the relief of their stupid, uninstructed brethren. But it is to be hoped, the original is not quite so dark as this picture represents; some allowance is to be made for a very lively fancy. It can hardly be supposed, that any of the colonies, in their worst state, were sunk into such ignorance and stupidity, as to give opportunity for "a

trial" which "some persons seem very desirous of seeing," but never had been sufficiently made, even among the most ignorant barbarians, viz. "what sort of creatures men would be without the knowledge of God." If his lordship had mentioned any one colony, even the most "profligate and wicked," as answering to this description, the inhabitants of that colony would have thought themselves greatly injured, and would not have silently borne the reproach. Bad as they were, they knew the existence of a Deity, and had some sense of moral obligation.

After this moving introduction, his lordship gives an account of the proceedings of the honourable society. "The society, therefore, in proportion to their own ability, and the need of each place, first sent over missionaries to perform the offices of religion amongst them, then schoolmasters, to instruct their children in the principles of it, who, after enduring much contradiction of sinners, and going through a variety of labours and difficulties, have, through the blessing of God, *made a remarkable change in the face of things*, and laid a noble ground-work of what, we hope, will every day be carrying on towards perfection. But at present much remains to be done. Multitudes continue, as before, in a thoughtless disregard to almost every part of christianity; and multitudes also are daily petitioning for help; which to some we cannot give at all; and to others so little, that they have divine service only once in many weeks; and several districts of sixty, seventy and eighty miles long, have but one minister to officiate in each of them."

This passage plainly discovers the sentiments, which both his lordship and the society had of the state of religion in the colonies. It had just been said, that "*the poor inhabitants made, from all parts, the most affecting representations of their deplorable condition.*" Here it is declared, that "the society, in *proportion to the need of each place*, first sent over missionaries to perform the offices of religion amongst them, and then schoolmasters, to instruct their children in the principles of it." Those places, therefore, where the society sent their missionaries and schoolmasters, are the places which his lordship

had described in such pathetick language. At least, this is what a stranger, who had been an auditor of this discourse, must have concluded.

If it would not be presumption to question what is delivered by so great an authority, some would take the liberty to inquire, whether these "*affecting representations* of their deplorable condition," were made from the three provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, or New-Hampshire. If they were, they were injurious aspersions. From the beginning of New-England, Rhode-Island excepted, there was ample provision made for a gospel ministry. As soon as a town was settled, a church was formed, and a minister ordained. When one minister was removed, care was very soon taken to look out for a successour, so that very few parishes have been long vacant. There was the like concern to supply each town with schools, and, if the town was of any considerable bigness, with a grammar school. When the society sent missionaries and schoolmasters to these three colonies, they did not send "in proportion to the need of each place;" unless those places in which there are Congregational ministers, men of character for learning and religion, stand in more need of their help, than places in which there are no ministers at all. Dr. Bray, the father of the society, "found very little need of missionaries for the propagation of christianity from New-York northward, the Narragansett country excepted; and in the colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts none at all." But it seems, they, who had the direction, were of a different opinion. The society, very soon after their foundation, sent missionaries to places in New-England, where the inhabitants were well supplied with Congregational ministers. In 1740–1, when this sermon was delivered, the number of missionaries and schoolmasters, employed by the society in the three before mentioned provinces, was fifteen; at the same time, in North-Carolina, which comes the nearest to his lordship's melancholy description of any one of the colonies, there were only two missionaries. In that extensive province, (and I believe in no other,) it is very probable, there were "several districts of sixty, seventy, and eighty miles

long," that had "but one minister to officiate in each of them." But it is a very natural inquiry, why the society suffered it to be so. Why so many were sent to places, in which the inhabitants were obliged by law to have an orthodox minister and schoolmaster, and so few to those districts that were almost destitute? "The churches of this country," as was observed by Mr. Hobart, "in which they maintain missionaries, generally stand within a mile, and often a few rods of a Presbyterian or Congregational church, where the people they provide for might, without any charge to the society, constantly attend the publick worship and ordinances of God." Of these countries then, it could not with truth be said, "there were scarce any footsteps of christianity left, beyond the mere name. No teacher was known, no religious assembly held, the Lord's day distinguished only by more general dissoluteness; the sacrament of baptism not administered for near twenty years together, nor that of the Lord's supper for near sixty." "Such," his lordship says, "was the state of things in more of our colonies than one, and where it was *a little better, it was, however, lamentably bad.*" This last clause evidently takes in all the colonies, which were not included in the description immediately preceding; and to make it quite certain, his lordship says, p. 11, "You have now heard, in brief, the state of our colonies with respect to religion." Not one word, of the provision made in some of these colonies for the instruction of the inhabitants in the truths of religion, and for the regular administration of divine ordinances.

Can it be supposed, that his lordship, at that time, knew the true state of things; that there were in the New-England colonies, whom he had characterized with the rest, as in such deplorable circumstances, several hundred Presbyterian and Congregational ministers, men of education and of good morals? And that in those places, to which a great part of the society's missionaries had been sent, there was as much of the appearance of religion, and the ordinances of the gospel were as regularly administered, as in any part of the British dominions; if this can be supposed possible, where the administrator

hath not been set apart by the sacred hands of a diocesan bishop.

As his lordship had his education among the Dissenters in England, he could not but know, that a man may be a non-conformist, and yet have the knowledge of God, and be in no danger of returning to entire barbarism.

It is very surprizing, that one of his lordship's extensive knowledge should, in a publick discourse, describe the colonies as having "scarce any footsteps of christianity beyond the very name;" at least, that he hath not greatly limited this character, and allowed that things were, and always had been, more than *a little better* in some of them; particularly in many of those places, where the society had sent their ministers and schoolmasters. And it is the more strange, as, it appears by another part of the discourse, his lordship did actually know, there was "one considerable province," in which the Independents, as he is pleased to denominate them, had something which they called the established church. The means of instruction in Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay were as plenty, as when Dr. Bray, with a candour that does honour to his memory, gave his opinion, that they needed no missionaries at all. And the circumstances of New Hampshire, in this respect, were much the same, though it was not mentioned by Dr. Bray, probably because that province was then so small that it did not come within his notice. It is no reflection on those employed by the Society, to say, that the gospel hath been preached in those colonies, and in many places in New-York and the Jersies, both before and since *their* introduction, as well as it ever was by them. And it would discover a more Catholick spirit in the Society, as well as better answer the end of their institution, if they sent their missionaries to those places in which "multitudes continue in a thoughtless disregard to almost every part of christianity, and multitudes are daily petitioning for help, which to some they cannot give at all, and to others so little, that they have divine service only once in many weeks: And to those districts, of sixty, seventy and eighty miles long, that had but one minister to officiate in each of them."

The true state of things hath been published to the world, more than once. The late excellent Dr. Mayhew has given a just representation of facts in his writings, which have been published in England, and his reasoning upon them is unanswerable. If the honourable Society choose to persevere in the course they have been in, it cannot be helped; but many of the Church of England, as well as other denominations, apprehend it will discover a spirit, which reflects no honour on that great and respectable body. If this is their resolution, it would certainly be more just fairly to own, that their design is to episcopize the colonies, than to publish such unkind accounts from year to year. The people of Great Britain get more and more acquainted with the state of America; and they will find out, that the European inhabitants are not so destitute of christianity, as they have been represented. This may produce such reflections on the Society, as I sincerely wish they may never more give occasion for.

His lordship informs his auditory, p. 7, that the missionaries, "after enduring much contradiction of sinners, and going through a great variety of labours and difficulties, have, through the blessing of God, made a remarkable change in the face of things, and laid a noble groundwork, of what, we hope, will every day, be carrying on towards perfection." I shall not attempt to blacken the character of the missionaries; some of them have been men of worth, and have regularly attended the duties of their station: But I have never heard of any peculiar "labours and difficulties" they have been called to, in any of the colonies. In New England they generally reside in our capitals, and most populous towns, are treated with respect, and live comfortably on the salaries allowed them by the Society, and what is given by their own people. I know of no remarkable change for the better in the northern colonies, since the missionaries have been sent among us. There are, it is true, more Episcopalians than there were; this is owing to a variety of causes, which I need not specify. But their number is yet comparatively small. There is, at present, no great appearance of a ground-work, upon which the

Episcopal hierarchy can be erected. If this is the fabrick, which, it is hoped, "will every day be carrying on towards perfection," we also hope, in our turn, that the descendants of those excellent and heroick men, who first settled New-England, will never forget the glorious errand of their fathers, but that they will "stand fast in the liberty, wherewith Christ hath made them free."

His lordship undertakes, page 34, to answer a very important "objection to the conduct of the Society," viz. "That they have sent missionaries to *some places*, in which there were already christian assemblies established and supported." The objection had been more fairly put, if, instead of "some places," it had been said, that a very great, if not the greater part of the missionaries were sent to "places in which there were already christian assemblies;" while one whole province was left almost destitute of the means of instruction, and there was not one missionary *wholly* employed to propagate the gospel among the numerous tribes of Indians, that surround our settlements. This was in fact true, when his lordship delivered this sermon. There were christian assemblies in every place in New-England, to which the Society sent a missionary, Rhode Island not excepted. Several places in New York, the Jersies, and Pennsylvania, which partook of this charity, were under the same happy circumstances. Nor were these assemblies only Quakers and Baptists, against which his lordship has particular exceptions, and which, for this and no other reason, I join together; but Presbyterian and Congregational assemblies, well furnished with ministers, in which the sacraments of the gospel were regularly administered, and in which infants were not "denied the sacraments of baptism." But his lordship tells us "in the least exceptionable, there are several things, which the consciences of many, we apprehend with great reason, cannot acquiesce in; who were not therefore to be left destitute of publick worship." By these "least exceptionable," it is very probable are intended those of the Presbyterian and Congregational persuasion. They cannot greatly value the distinction so plausibly given them; as it seems designed, only to introduce a most severe re-

flection on them, and their worship. His lordship more than intimates, that the Episcopalians, who live in places, where there are Presbyterian and Congregational assemblies, are left destitute of publick worship, if the society for propagating the gospel doth not maintain ministers for them. And they are encouraged to absent themselves from all those christian assemblies, that do not worship God according to the rites of the Church of England.

We have not greatly wondered, that some of our bigotted missionaries have advised their conforming brethren, to tarry at home, even on the Lord's day, when there was no Episcopal minister to officiate, and by no means to go into a Congregational assembly, however near and convenient. More candour might justly be expected from one of his lordship's penetration and character. But this eminent prelate not only says nothing to discourage such narrow and contracted sentiments, but determines, that, since the Episcopalians have great reason not to acquiesce in several things, in these assemblies, even the least exceptionable, they are not to be left by the Society destitute of publick worship, though many places are left destitute that have no assemblies, no worship, no means of instruction at all. This seems to be the natural construction of these words, taken in connexion with other parts of the sermon.

If the Society had large funds, and had taken all proper care to bring the heathen on our borders to the knowledge of Jesus Christ; and had supplied those places, "where multitudes continue in a thoughtless disregard to almost every part of christianity," it would not be surprising, considering the attachment men generally have to their own forms and modes of worship, that they afforded some assistance to their Episcopalian brethren in other parts, who had not ability to maintain ministers for themselves. But while, in consequence of the sums expended in places, where there are other christian assemblies, the Society "cannot give at all to some," who are quite destitute of the means of instruction; "and to others so little, that they have divine service only once in many weeks;" they must expect to find their conduct objected to and censured, and they will have hard work

to justify it. They have, it is true, a right to judge for themselves; and the publick will also judge, whether their conduct is candid, and agreeable to the true spirit of their charter.

His lordship seems to think, the Episcopalians, who are in places where there are other christian assemblies, come within the very words of the charter. After having said, "they were not to be left destitute of publick worship," he adds, "especially as our charter was granted in express terms, *for the maintenance of an orthodox clergy in those parts.*" Is it possible there should be a more conclusive argument! The charter was granted in express terms for the maintenance of an orthodox clergy in those parts; as, therefore, those "places, in which there were already christian assemblies," had not an orthodox clergy, the Society was obliged, by their charter, to supply them. I should be sincerely glad, if any other consequence could be drawn from his lordship's words, but they are too plain to admit of any other construction; and such sentiments reflect no honour on a Protestant bishop, in an age so justly celebrated for candour and generous thinking as the present. I cease now to wonder at the affecting representation his lordship gives, at the beginning of his sermon, of the deplorable state of the colonies, that some were "without the knowledge of God," and returned "to entire barbarism:" And at his general assertion, that "where it was a little better, it was, however, lamentably bad." A christian community is undoubtedly in a *bad* state, that is destitute of an orthodox clergy. Happy for the colonies! Happy for New-England in particular! that a higher authority has determined more favourably of their clergy.—The case I refer to is this. A tract of land was granted in the Narragansett country, the income or improvement thereof to be "for an *orthodox* person, that shall be obtained to preach God's word to the inhabitants." There being no preacher in the place, the land came into the possession of one Mr. Mumford. When Mr. Torrey was ordained pastor of the Congregational church there, he brought an action for the possession of this land. The case was carried before the king in council. Judgment

was given in favour of Mr. Torrey, *as an orthodox minister according to law*, (the very terms of the royal judgment) and ordering Mr. Torrey, as such an one, to be put in possession.* Dr. Mac-Sparran, who, some time before, from a zealous Presbyterian became a warm Episcopalian, and a missionary in Narragansett, imagined, that no minister, who was not of the Church of England, could be denominated orthodox; and brought an action against Mr. Torrey for possession of these lands. This case was also carried before the king in council. Judgment was again given in favour of Mr. Torrey: by which judgment he now holds these lands; and they are, it is hoped, secured to a Congregational minister forever: a judgment of vast consequence to New-England. The legislature of the Massachusetts Bay were so alarmed with this ungenerous claim, that, although the lands in controversy were out of the province, they published a brief for a collection in all the churches to defray Mr. Torrey's charges in this suit. It would be ungrateful to the memory of that great and good man, Dr. Herring, who then filled the Archi-episcopal see of Canterbury, not to mention his steadfast adherence to justice and religious liberty in that decisive trial. He attended the hearing, publickly asserted the justice of Mr. Torrey's claim, and gave his opinion in his favour; although he could not but know the obloquy and reproach, which would be cast upon him, by men of less candid and generous minds.

His lordship proceeds to give another reason for the Society's assisting the Episcopalian colonists, which is confined to New England. "And the members of this church, I am sorry to say it, lying under peculiar burdens in one considerable province, which other professors of christianity do not, though equally dissenters from the majority there, they seem of right entitled to some peculiar assistance in return." In a marginal note this passage is explained thus; "In New England they are rated to the support of what the Independents, who are the greater part of that people, call, though without right, the established church. And the goods of many have been seized, or their bodies imprisoned, for non-

* See "Answer to a printed letter," &c. written by the late Rev. Mr. Prince, and dated October, 1739.

payment. The Anabaptists, on their petition, were exempted from paying this rate; and the Quakers without petitioning; but the petition of the members of our church was rejected."

It is not easy to determine, why his lordship was "sorry to say," that the Episcopalians were "rated to the support of *what* the Independents call the established church;" (but for which, it seems, his lordship could not find any proper name.) Was it from his extreme tenderness for the colonies, and because the imposing of such burthens was a dishonour to them? This would be an implicit reflection on the national church, or on the legislature, which rates all denominations of Dissenters to the support of that church.

The Episcopalians are "*Dissenters* from the majority" in New-England, as the Nonconformists are *Dissenters* from the majority in England. The burthen, therefore, is as hard and unreasonable in one country as the other. It will doubtless be answered, that the Dissenters in England are rated to the church established by law, whereas the Dissenters in New-England "are rated to the support of what the Independents call, without right, the established church."

The Independents, or rather the Congregationalists, think they have a right to call themselves the established church; and under this apprehension they have as much right, seeing they are the majority, to tax those, who dissent from them, as any other people whatever. They have as good a right in nature, to think for themselves, and they have as good a constitutional right to impose taxes, provided the king consent to the laws made for this purpose. Nor would the Episcopalians have any more reason to complain, than the Dissenters have in England.

It is not worth dispute, whether "the goods of many have been seized, or their bodies imprisoned for non-payment." If any suffered in this manner, it was because they did not submit to the laws in force. When laws are made in any province, and allowed by the king, they must be executed, or anarchy and confusion will follow. I conclude his lordship would not complain, if

the goods of a Dissenter in England should be seized, or his body imprisoned, for non-payment of the taxes, which the law obliges him to pay to the established church. This was equally justifiable in New-England, if it was in execution of the laws, as it would be, or ever was, in England.

But I shall not labour this point, as I am not fond of the establishment of a particular form of religion in any place; all such establishments are contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and to the religion of Jesus Christ, whose kingdom is not of this world. I desire no law to tax the Episcopalians to the support of any ministers but their own; and think it would be an honour to the nation, if all such burthens were removed from the Dissenters in the parent country.

The principal objection I make to this passage is, that it is not a just representation. By one considerable province, which his lordship calls New-England, it is plain, from the margin, that he intends the province of the Massachusetts Bay, which is in New-England. The best way to ascertain the truth is, to look into the laws themselves; and I am the more desirous to set this matter in a just light, because Dr. Mayhew, who has honoured himself and his country by his writings relative to the conduct of the Society, has taken it for granted, that the Episcopalians were taxed to the support of the Congregational ministers. Whereas the government of the Massachusetts hath, if I mistake not, discovered a singular candour towards them. If they have not done all that they might have done, they have done more than any other government, except perhaps the other New-England colonies, with whose laws I am not acquainted.

In 1692, the year after the present charter took place, a law was made, in which it was enacted, "that the inhabitants in each town within this province shall take due care from time to time to be constantly provided of an able, learned, orthodox minister or ministers, of good conversation, to dispense the word of God to them; which minister or ministers shall be suitably encouraged and sufficiently supported and maintained by the inhabitants of such town," &c. At the time when this law was

made, there was only one Episcopalian Society in the province. This was in Boston, where the ministers of every denomination have been always maintained by a voluntary contribution in each Society. The members of the church of England in Boston have never been taxed to the support of Congregational ministers.

Anno 1727. An act was passed in addition to the several acts for the settlement and support of ministers, wherein it is enacted, "that all persons, who profess themselves to be of the church of England, and usually attend the publick worship of God according to the manner of that church, and those who are of the churches established by the laws of this province, shall be taxed for the support of the ministry in such town, parish, or precinct, where they respectively reside. But if it so happen, that there be a Society of the church of England, where there is a person in orders, according to the rules of the church of England, settled, and abiding among them, and performing divine service within *five miles* of the habitation, or usual residence of any person professing himself as aforesaid of the church of England, so that he can conveniently and doth usually attend the publick worship there, then and in such case the collector or collectors of such town, parish or precinct, having first indifferently levied the tax as aforesaid, and paid the same to the treasurer of the town, parish or precinct respectively, such Treasurer shall deliver or cause to be delivered the said taxes collected of such person declaring himself and attending as aforesaid unto the minister of the church of England, as aforesaid; which minister shall have full power to receive, and if need be to recover the same in the law, in order to his support in the place assigned to him. And the parishioners of the church of England, professing and attending as aforesaid, are hereby excused from paying any taxes for the building meeting houses for the use of the present established churches within this government, any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

When this act was passed, there were only three very small Episcopal congregations in the province besides those in Boston. Five miles, it was supposed, included

all who attended on any particular church; and the government thought it necessary to fix some bounds, to prevent frauds and impositions; and that angry, disappointed, avaricious, or dissolute persons might not avail themselves of a law made for the relief of the conscientious. They saw, and endeavoured to guard against the evils, which actually were the consequence of this indulgence, as far as it reached; and which have been more extensive since the limitation was taken off.

It is worthy of our notice, that this act excuses only the members of the church of England, and not the Anabaptists and Quakers. At that time the members of this church did not lie under "peculiar burthens, which other professors, though equally Dissenters," did not. The principles of liberty and christian candour have gradually obtained in New-England, as in other places.

Anno 1728. This five mile act of exemption and relief was extended to the Anabaptists and Quakers. But a difference was still made between them, and the members of the church of England. By the act in 1727 the whole estate of the Episcopalians was exempted from paying taxes to Congregational ministers: by this of 1728 the polls only of the Anabaptists and Quakers are exempted from charge, in the support of the ministers of the churches by law established in this province;" but not their estates.

Anno 1729. The estates of the Anabaptists and Quakers were exempted, under the same conditions and limitations that their polls were "by the former act."

Anno 1731. The Quakers were wholly exempted from taxes "for the support of the minister or ministers of the churches established by the laws of this province."

Anno 1734. This exemption was extended to the Anabaptists.

Anno 1735. The act made 1726 for the exemption of Episcopalians, who lived within five miles of an Episcopal minister, was extended to "all such persons as profess themselves to be of the church of England," "that live in the bounds of any town, parish or precinct throughout the province." The Episcopalians were, by this act, to be taxed for the support of the ministry with the other

inhabitants, but the treasurer of each town was obliged to deliver their ministerial tax to the minister of the church of England, upon whom they usually attended.

This act had been passed at least five years, when the bishop of Oxford preached before the Society. His lordship was therefore mistaken in saying, "the members of this church, lying under peculiar burdens in one considerable province, which other professors of christianity do not, though equally Dissenters from the majority there, they seem of *right* entitled to some peculiar assistance." This argument of right was certainly of no force, at the time when his lordship made use of it. And the marginal note might have been spared, which asserts, that in New England they are rated to the support of *what* the Independents, who are the greater part of that people, call, though without right, the established church." The Episcopalians were not rated at that time, and very few of them ever had been. This mistake, however innocent in his lordship, was very injurious to "one considerable province."

His lordship very peremptorily asserts that "*what* the Independents call the established church," they call so "without right." In almost all the acts relative to the Congregational churches, they are called "the churches *established by the laws of this province;*" and in the act which exempts the Episcopalians from taxes, these churches are called "*the churches by law established*," and the members of the church of England "are excused from paying taxes for the building meeting houses for the use of the *established church within this government.*" These laws have been transmitted to the king for his approbation, and have been allowed by him: they are his laws, and are executed by his officers. This expression, therefore, seems to contain a reflection on majesty itself, as well as on the Independents, (as his lordship is pleased to denominate the Congregationalists.) And the New-England colonists are so good subjects, that they are quite willing to stand or fall with their prince.

His lordship's discourse to the Society was reprinted in 1765, in a collection of his sermons on several occasions. In this new edition the passage in the sermon

stands without any alteration. The marginal note has this addition. "N. B. This grievance hath been redressed under the administration of governour Shirley, in the province of the Massachusetts Bay; and I believe since the year 1752 in the colony of Connecticut also." How it was in Connecticut I am not certain. But in Massachusetts-Bay, to which it is plain his lordship had particular reference when he spake of one considerable province, this grievance was redressed years before this Sermon was preached, or governour Shirley came into the administration of government. It was redressed under the administration of governour Belcher, who was a professed Congregationalist, and a member of one of our churches.

There can be no other reason for fixing upon the era of governour Shirley's administration than this. The assembly of the Massachusetts, when they passed the act in 1735, saw fit to limit it to five years. When it was renewed, under governour Shirley, it was made perpetual. This limitation was not peculiar to this act. It is a frequent thing when the assembly makes a new law, to make it for a certain number of years, for which practice there is this very good reason. When a law is once passed, it cannot be repealed without the king's assent. It is therefore a prudent caution to make their acts temporary at first, that they may see what effect they will have; and may not bind themselves more than is necessary. This limitation will by no means justify his lordship's assertion, that the members of the church of England "*are* rated to the support of what the Independents call the established church," since, I am persuaded, no instance can be given of such a rate since 1735. There is the same limitation in the acts, which exempt the Quakers and Anabaptists from rates to the ministers of the Congregational churches; so that in this respect the Episcopalians did not lie "under peculiar burdens in one considerable province, which other professors of christianity" were exempted from. All the different persuasions of Dissenters are now released from paying taxes to any but their own ministers, by laws which have

no limitation of time or place; which laws, I hope, will never be repealed.

These acts are not without their inconveniences; persons, who are disaffected to their ministers, or who have any difference with the parish in which they reside, gratify their passions by separating from the christian society to which they belong, and joining with the church of England, the Baptists, or the Quakers at their pleasure. And the ministers or leaders of these respective denominations have, "I am sorry to say it," discovered too great a fondness for receiving such proselytes. Councils of churches, which have met to adjust differences that have arisen in parishes, are often threatened by those to whom their result has not been agreeable, that they would have their redress by joining themselves to the church of England, and this has frequently been the effect. But it is much better to submit to these, and many other inconveniences, than that they, who profess themselves Dissenters, should complain, that they lie under any "peculiar burdens," or should be treated in the manner the Dissenters are in England, which cannot be justified by any principles of reason or christianity. I cannot omit, that since all these burdens have been confessedly removed, the missionaries of the church of England have been greatly increased in the New England colonies.

It appears by the recital of the foregoing acts, that the members of the church of England in Boston never were rated to what the Independents call the established church; that when there were a very few professors of that church out of the town, an act was made for their relief, which, however limited, very probably reached almost all of that denomination, who desired to be included in it; that when their number increased, although it was yet very small, and it was found, that their zeal for episcopacy, or something else, would carry them to attend the worship of the church at a greater distance than that mentioned in the law, all limitation of place was taken off; and every professed member of the church of England, in whatever part of the province he lives, though at the distance of forty or fifty miles, is released from paying taxes for the support of the minister, settled in the place where he

resides, provided he obtain a certificate from an Episcopal minister and his church wardens, "that such person is a member of the church of England, and usually and frequently attends the publick worship of God with them on the Lord's day."

After such indulgence shown by the government to the members of the church of England, it is exceeding hard to be represented by so great an authority in such an assembly, as intolerant, if to no others, yet to Episcopalians; and, as his lordship's sermon will doubtless live, to have such a character of them transmitted to all future generations.

It is strange, that his lordship chose to bring this subject into publick view, not only as it unavoidably turns our thoughts to the burdens laid on the Dissenters in England, but to the Episcopal colonies in America. In which of them is there an act made to exempt Dissenters from paying to the support of what the Episcopalians call the established church? They are all rated to Episcopal ministers, and, if they should refuse payment, their goods would be seized, and their bodies imprisoned. Time has been, when no minister, who was not episcopally ordained, was suffered to preach in some of those colonies. Since the grievance, of which his lordship complains, was redressed in the Massachusetts, Presbyterian ministers have been punished only for preaching in Virginia. Even the ministers of other denominations, who are settled with them, are not excused from paying rates to Episcopal ministers. In the province of New-York, the members of the church of England are far from being the majority. "Col. Fletcher, when governour, procured the assembly to set out six churches, with allowances for the maintenance of ministers." In several of the towns, where these churches are "set out," there are Presbyterian churches; but all the Presbyterians, both ministers and people, are obliged to pay to the Episcopal ministers. I have been informed by a gentleman, who was many years pastor of a Presbyterian church in the city of New-York, that he was rated every year during his residence there to the support of the Episcopal ministers of that city. We shall, it is probable, be told, that the church of

England is the established church. The church of England, then, has an exclusive right to lay burdens on all, who dissent from her. Wherever she gains the ascendant all must be taxed for her support, but the members of that church must never be taxed for the support of any other minister. Beware, ye colonists, who have not yet submitted to this yoke. Beware, ye inhabitants of New-England, whose noble predecessors left their native land, and ventured into the American deserts, that they might enjoy that religious liberty, which was denied them there. You have reason to fear the prevalence of a church, the members of which hold such intolerant principles, and where they have power, practise upon them. Watch against her encroachments. Can any wonder, that you fear the approach of a bishop? If a prelate is introduced, some way must be found out for his support. Every art will be used to prevail with our assemblies to lay a tax; and who can assure us, that they will never be cajoled into a compliance. Their hopes of gaining some favour in the parent country, or their fears of incurring the displeasure of those in power there, may influence them to that, of which there is no prospect at present. [I am told that there was but one member of the church of England in the assembly of New-York.] If such a tax should once be laid, the law would be like the laws of the ancient Medes and Persians; it could not be altered, unless there should be some happy change of the hierarchy, which we have no reason to expect; and which cannot take place, till the clergy are less fond of power and opulence, or the nation is blessed with a ministry, who will have the spirit to control that order of men, and to confine them to their proper department.

If the provincial assemblies should refuse to tax the inhabitants for the support of a bishop, the whole strength of the church of England will be united to procure an act of parliament [to tax the colonies] to raise a revenue for this purpose. If this is obtained, no colony can expect an exemption [because the church of England is established in all.] We have been told, that "when any part of the English nation spread abroad into colonies, as they continued a part of the nation, the law obliged them

equally to the church of England, and to the christian religion." It would be unreasonable to exempt the New-England colonies from the support of a church that is equally established in all the colonies, and of a bishop whose jurisdiction would extend equally to them all. Such a partiality would give offence to the other colonies, and must therefore be avoided. Nothing can be more specious, than the present plans with respect to an American bishop; he is to be a mere ecclesiastick, and the establishment of episcopacy is to have the most happy effects; such effects as it never yet had, and it is to be feared, never will have. These things are publickly given out to prevent opposition, and to smooth the way for the accomplishment of a design, which has been long in agitation, but has hitherto been happily prevented. However tenderly our Episcopal brethren may at present express themselves, we have reason to expect, from their whole conduct, and from the leading characters in this scheme, that their language will soon alter, when they have carried their point; an American bishop will be like other prelates; he will aim at power and pomp; and will think it hard, if he is distinguished from his brethren at home, and confined wholly to ecclesiastical matters. And the English bishops will think it necessary to assist and promote him, for the sake of preserving the splendour of the order, and lest their own dignity should be affected, when it is seen, that Episcopacy may subsist without temporal power and the honours of this world. If a bishop is once introduced, it will be easy to find pretences to extend his authority. He must be a stranger to clerical machinations, who thinks there is no reason for such fears. And no one can blame those, who endeavour to guard against an event, they have so much reason to fear. There is one other passage in this remarkable sermon, which I cannot omit, as it gives an opportunity to transcribe some excellent remarks, written, I am well informed, by a clergyman of great distinction in the church of England. "We acknowledge it, whoever is taught christianity by our care, will be taught it as professed in the church established here by law." "And that none," says the respectable remarker, "will be taught christianity, *by the*

*care of the Society*, in *any other* way, appears from a question, which follows presently after; "Which is righter, that heathens, and persons of no religion, should continue what they are, or become what we would make them?" Here you see the alternative is plain and express: Either learn christianity according to the forms of the church of England, or continue, *for any thing we care*, what you are, whether heathens, or persons of no religion." "Not a single sixpence to be expended upon those, who may happen to think some *fourth* thing *righter* than any of them, which is the more extraordinary, as we are told just before, that "the Society's converts will have the *Bible* put into their hands, to judge for themselves." "*Judge*, what? Why, which is rightest, the church of *England*, heathenism, or no religion? Undoubtedly the Bible would, in this case, give it clearly for the church of *England*. But suppose the convert should go *one* step farther with his Bible, and find something in it that is still *righter* than even the church of *England*, and dispose himself to deviate from the church of England, and to follow the road that appears to him, after judging for himself, to be righter. What is to be done? I can see but two things left to his choice; either, 1. to give up his Bible, and to follow the church of *England*, implicitly; or, 2. if he has a mind to keep, and to be directed by, his Bible, to refund the price of it to the Society.

"Ye worthy and respectable members! Ye learned, pious, and venerable fathers, who preside over this noble, christian, and benevolent incorporation! lay your hands upon your hearts, and speak sincerely, Is it honourable to the Society to ACKNOWLEDGE this? or can the impartial and judicious christian and protestant think the learned preacher fairly entitled to his conclusion, viz. "that *the expences which must attend so good a design*, OUGHT TO BE SUPPLIED; especially when it hangs upon these feeble premises BEING SO PROPERLY EXECUTED? Can he think this way of executing the *good design*, is either *proper* in itself, or proper with respect to the liberal sentiments of the glorious WILLIAM III. who granted the charter? No: Let us not, for shame,

slander the memory of our great deliverer, by imputing to him views and principles worthy only of that wretched superstition, which he came to put to flight."

I have now finished my remarks upon his lordship's sermon, but cannot conclude without expressing my surprize, that the answerer to Dr. Mayhew, who is supposed to be a very high dignitary in the church, should assert, in so strong terms, that "the present Arch-Bishop of Canterbury mentioned it," [the case of the Episcopalians in the Massachusetts and Connecticut] "very explicitly, above twenty years ago; and at the end of their sermons, both before and since, lists of their missionaries, their places of residence and their salaries, with accounts of the state of their congregations, have been published annually." It is true his lordship explictly mentioned the Episcopalians in these provinces; but he mentioned them as in very deplorable circumstances, as oppressed by the Independents, and as left destitute of publick worship, if the Society did not assist them. It is true, also, the Society, in their abstracts, publish lists of their missionaries, the places of their residence, and some account of the state of their congregations. But these accounts are such as are far from giving a just view of things. I have before me an abstract annexed to a sermon, preached by Dr. Maddox in 1733, by which it appears, that the Society themselves are not acquainted with the state of some of the places to which they send missionaries, or else, that they suppose those places, who have ministers not episcopally ordained, to be in as bad a state as those that have no teachers at all. "The Society," says the abstract, "have this year very much increased the number of their missions, upon the earnest petitions of the *principal inhabitants* of *each place*, representing, that they have lived several years without the celebration of publick divine worship, and without the administration of the sacraments, for want of ministers; that a deep ignorance prevailed among them; that the rising generation must be still more ignorant, as *having never seen*, nay, *scarce heard any thing of the publick worship of God*, and *administration of the sacraments;* and that such gross ignorance must open a wide door to all immorali-

ties. The Society have therefore sent the Rev. Mr. Smith to Providence, and the other of the inhabited Bahama Islands, the *Rev. Mr. Forbes to Monmouth county in New Jersey;* the Rev. Mr. Gowie to St. Bartholomew's in South Carolina; the Rev. Mr. Fraser to Kent county in Pennsylvania; the Rev. *Mr. Davenport to Scituate in New-England.*"

Is it possible for words to express a more deplorable state of ignorance and barbarity, than is contained in this account of the places to which the Society sent their missionaries, and which they say is the representation of the principal inhabitants of *each place?* One of these places is *Scituate*, a very ancient town in the Massachusetts Bay; in which there had been an uninterrupted succession of able, faithful ministers from the very beginning of New-England, and where there were, at the time of Mr. Davenport's appointment, two Congregational churches, with a worthy pastor in each. Could the honourable Society have their information from the principal inhabitants of this place, that such "deep ignorance prevailed among them?" The principal inhabitants belonged to the other christian assemblies in the town, and had no desire to introduce the church of England. The Society has most probably often been imposed upon by false accounts, which even those, who wrote them, would hardly be willing to own. Nothing else can excuse them in publishing the very pompous accounts, transmitted by some of their missionaries, of the additions made to their churches, as if they, who joined them, were converted from a state of heathenism or infidelity, when, in truth, they have only left the christian societies to which they belonged, and not always from the best motives, and have professed themselves members of the church of England. Could the people of Britain, who, till of late, have been such strangers to the colonies, when they read the anniversary sermons, describing the colonies in general, as in a state of the most deplorable ignorance; and observed the conduct of the Society in sending a great part of their missionaries to New-England, and compared the accounts sent by these missionaries, could they possibly imagine, that, in New-England, there were only a

few Episcopalians, scattered among regular churches of the Congregational or Presbyterian persuasion, which were supplied with learned, able, faithful ministers, and in which they might have all necessary means of instruction, though not exactly according to the rites used in the church of England? Could they find out, that this was the situation of the New-England colonies, from a few dark hints now and then inserted in a sermon, and which seem calculated rather to save the veracity of the preacher, than to enlighten the auditory? Would they believe, that the collections, made for propagating the gospel, were expended in a great measure in places so well provided for, to the neglect of the heathen natives, and of a great number of their own countrymen and fellow subjects, who had no means of instruction at all? If any did know the true state of things, and yet were willing to contribute, we allow they have a right to think and act for themselves, but we pity their want of charity and christian candour.

It is most likely, that great numbers, who have contributed, as well as many of the Society themselves, have been deceived. Some have possibly given very false accounts of the state of some places, and very exaggerated ones of others, in order to introduce themselves into business, or to raise their own character by magnifying the difficulties they have been called to undergo. I would not charge all the gentlemen, who have come in the character of missionaries, with misrepresenting the country. There are among them, some, who despise these mean arts; but we cannot think so favourably of all. One of the Society's missionaries had the confidence to carry to the President a diploma from the university of Oxford, to be inserted in the book of diplomas at Harvard College, wherein were these words: "Cumque nobis compertum fuerit egregium hunc virum apud anti-episcopales nutritum postmodum agnito errore in ecclesiæ anglicanæ sinum se recepisse, et eadem de causâ, a suis multimodis contumeliis et injuriis vexatum esse," &c. The university doubtless had this account from the gentleman himself, than which nothing can be more false and abusive. No one among us hath ever heard of these

reproaches and injuries, which he is represented to have suffered on account of his conformity to the church of England; on the contrary, he has always been treated with candour and tenderness. What may we not expect from men, who would fix an indelible mark of disgrace on their country in the public records of that renowned university!

I had not said so much concerning a sermon, preached so long ago, if the same reflections had not been cast on the colonies in the two last Society sermons, which are all we have been able to get a sight of for some years. The right reverend persons, who delivered these discourses, might think themselves safe in following so great an example. Dr. W[a]-rb[u]-rt[o]-n [1766] and Dr. Ew[e]-r [1767] had not perhaps treated the colonies with so great freedom, if His Grace of Canterbury had not gone before them.

POSTSCRIPT.

When the bishop of Landaff's [Dr. Ewer, 1767] sermon was first put into my hands, a judicious friend pointed out the following passage. "Even the Romish superstition, within a province lately added to the British dominions, is completely allowed in all points; it hath bishops and seminaries." I expected a protestant bishop would take this publick opportunity to bear his testimony against a measure, that was like to fix the inhabitants of Canada in their superstition, and to be of so dangerous consequence to the British interests: and that he would zealously press the Society, to exert themselves to prevent the fatal effects, by sending over a number of able missionaries to propagate the reformed religion, by setting up Protestant schools, and that the missionaries and schoolmasters might be furnished with French Bibles to disperse among those, who should be willing to receive them. But how great was my surprize! when I found this eminent prelate only made use of this unhappy indulgence as an argument for sending a bishop of the church of England into the colonies. His lordship could not suppose the completely establishing episcopacy in the colonies, *in all points*, was of equal importance with

the reducing our new fellow-subjects from the darkness and superstitions of the church of Rome. I should be extremely sorry for any thing that would create new jealousies in any of the American provinces; this would certainly be the effect of sending a bishop at the present time, of which they cannot see any occasion at any time.

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HEADS OF INQUIRY RELATIVE TO THE PRESENT STATE AND CONDITION OF HIS MAJESTY'S COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, IN AMERICA.

1. WHAT is the situation of the colony under your government, the nature of the country, soil and climate, the latitudes and longitudes of the most considerable places in it? Have those latitudes and longitudes been settled by good observations, or only by common computations, and from whence are the longitudes computed?

2. What are the reputed boundaries, and are any parts thereof disputed, what parts and by whom?

3. What is the size and extent of the colony, the number of acres supposed to be contained therein, what part thereof is cultivated and improved, and under what titles do the inhabitants hold their possessions?

4. What rivers are there, and of what extent and convenience in point of commerce?

5. What are the principal harbours, how situated, of what extent, and what is the depth of water, and nature of anchorage in each?

6. What is the constitution of the government?

7. What is the trade of the colony, the number of shipping belonging thereto, their tonnage and the number of seafaring men, with the respective increase or diminution within ten years past?

8. What quantity and sort of British manufactures do the inhabitants annually take from hence, what goods and commodities are exported from thence to Great Britain, and what is the annual amount at an average?

9. What trade has the colony under your government with any foreign plantations, or any part of Europe, besides Great Britain, how is that trade carried on, what

commodities do the people under your government send to or receive from foreign plantations, and what is the annual amount thereof, at an average?

10. What methods are there used to prevent illegal trade, and are the same effectual?

11. What is the natural produce of the country, staple commodities, and manufactures, and what value thereof in sterling money may you annually export?

12. What mines are there?

13. What is the number of the inhabitants, whites and blacks?

14. Are the inhabitants increased or decreased within the last ten years; how much, and for what reasons?

15. What is the number of the militia, and under what regulations is it constituted?

16. What forts and places of defence are there within your government, and in what condition?

17. What number of Indians have you, and how are they inclined?

18. What is the strength of the neighbouring Indians?

19. What is the revenue arising within your government, and how is it appropriated and applied?

20. What are the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of your government?

21. What are the establishments, civil and military, within your government, and by what authority do the officers hold their places; what is the annual value of each office, civil or military, how are they respectively appointed, and who are the present possessors?

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LETTER AND REPORT FROM COLONEL DAVID WOOSTER, IN ANSWER TO THE QUERIES.

*New Haven*, 16 *May*, 1774.

Sir,

I HAVE your honoured letter before me of the 18th February last, and for answer,

1. The latitude of New-Haven is 41° 18′ north, and long. 73° 30′ west from London, taken by good observations.

5. New Haven has the principal harbour in the western part of the colony, situated north and south, half a mile wide at the entrance, and from the entrance to the town four miles, having two fathoms and an half water at low water, and three fathoms and four feet at common tides, and very good anchorage.

7. The trade from this part of the colony is entirely to the West India islands, and the exports are horses, oxen, pork, beef, tallow, and lumber, and the imports West India produce. The shipping belonging to this port, are one hundred and eight vessels, consisting of brigantines, sloops, and schooners, amounting to seven thousand one hundred and seventy tons, carpenter's measure. The number of seafaring men are seven hundred and fifty-six. As for their increase or diminution, I must refer your honour to the last return, ten years ago.

8. British manufactures and India goods, imported annually from Great Britain into the port of New Haven, on an average amount to about 4000*l.* sterling; for which remittances are made in pot and pearl ashes and bills of exchange. European and India goods, taken from Boston and New York, annually amount to about 40,000*l.* sterling; for which remittances are made in pork, beef, wheat, rye, Indian corn, flax-seed, pot and pearl ashes.

9. We trade with no foreign plantation, except the French islands in the West Indies; nor to any parts of Europe but Great Britain. We carry to the French plantations, horses, oxen, and lumber, and receive in return, sugar and molasses, to the amount of about 3000*l.* sterling annually on an average.

10. The methods to prevent illegal trade are, the custom house officers go on board all vessels as soon as they come into port, and after due search being made, they report to the king's collector the cargo on board, which proves very effectual.

11. The natural produce of the country is wheat, rye, Indian corn, and flax; the staple commodities are pork, beef, wheat, rye, Indian corn, flax-seed, pot and pearl ashes. Our manufactures are coarse linens and woollens for the poorer sort of people and servants, also ironmongery; but we export none.

Thus, sir, I have been as particular as I am capable of, in the above answers. And on this occasion beg leave sincerely to congratulate your honour on the happy event of the late election, and purpose to wait on your honour next week, and in the mean time am, sir, your honour's most obedient and very humble servant,

DAVID WOOSTER.

*To the Hon. Jonathan Trumbull, Esq.*

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ANSWER TO SEVERAL OF THE QUERIES, RELATIVE TO NEW LONDON. BY JEREMIAH MILLER, ESQ.

*Answer* 1. THE latitude of New London, the best harbour in Connecticut, is, by observation, 41° 25′ north, and longitude 4° 45′ west from London, that is, 71° 15′ west from London, by observation of the eclipses of the moon, calculated by Halley's tables.

5. New London, as above, is one of the principal harbours, and opens to the south; and from the light-house at the mouth of the harbour to the town is about three miles, and a breadth of three fourths of a mile and more in some places, from 5 to 6 fathoms water, a clear bottom, tough ooze, and entirely secure and commodious one mile above the town for large ships.

7. The principal trade of this government is to the West India islands, excepting now and then a vessel to Ireland with flax-seed, and to England with lumber and pot ashes, and a few to Gibraltar and Barbary. There is 72 sail of vessels now belonging to this district, amounting to 3247 tons, in which there are 406 seafaring men employed, besides upwards of 20 sail of coasting vessels, that employ about 90 seamen. On comparing, the trade is on the decrease; for in the year 1763 there were 79 sail of vessels belonging to this district, a difference of 7 sail.

8. It is impossible to enumerate the various sorts of British manufactures that are here imported; but in general almost every sort is consumed here; which we have principally from New York and Boston, to the

amount, upon a medium, from the best information I can get, of 150,000*l.* or 160,000*l.* sterling per annum.

9. Besides the English islands, (which supply this government with more than its home consumption of rum and sugar) it has a trade with the French and Dutch West Indies, Gibraltar and Barbary. Those vessels that go to the French and Dutch plantations carry horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, provisions and lumber; those for Gibraltar and Barbary carry flour, lumber, New England rum, and stores for muling, the whole annual amount of which (I should think) about 50,000*l.* sterling; for which we receive molasses, cocoa, cotton, and some sugar, and from the Dutch plantations bills of exchange; and the mules from Barbary are generally sold in the West Indies for bills of exchange, the most of which importation and bills goes to New York and Boston to pay for the British goods this government receives from those places.

10. The custom house officers here are attentive to their duty, besides which, this harbour is so situated, that the coming in form sea is between the east end of Long Island and Block Island, and by the west end of Fisher's Island, where the king's cruisers are generally upon the look out, and very critical in examining the vessels they meet with.

11. The natural produce of this country is timber, iron and copper ore, myrtle wax, &c. The produce, and staple commodities are Indian corn, wheat, rye, beef, pork, flax, flax-seed, oats, beans, peas, potatoes, cheese, cider, apples, &c. which articles are carried in the coasting vessels to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Virginia and Carolina, to what value is very difficult to determine; but I should think to at least 20,000*l.* sterling, which, with the 50,000*l.* sterling in the foreign trade, makes, on this estimation, the annual amount of exportation from this District 70,000*l.* sterling. It is evident the whole falls short of paying for the British manufactures we receive, as many of our traders have failed, and the New-Yorkers have taken their landed interest in this colony in payments to a very considerable amount. The chief manufactures are pot and pearl ashes, bar iron, and necessary implements for husbandry, &c.

LETTER FROM THE CONNECTICUT DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

*Governour Trumbull,* *Philadelphia*, 10 *Oct.* 1774.

Sir,

WE arrived in this city the 1st of September last, and the delegates from Virginia, North Carolina, and New York not being come, the Congress was not formed until the 5th, when the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq. was unanimously chosen President, and Charles Thompson, Esq. Secretary; a list of the members we enclose. The mode of voting in this Congress was first resolved upon, which was, that each colony should have one voice; but as this was objected to as unequal, an entry was made on the journals to prevent its being drawn into precedent in future. Committees were then appointed to state American rights and grievances, and the various acts of the British parliament, which affect the trade and manufactures of these colonies. On these subjects the committees spent several days, when the Congress judged it necessary, previous to completing and resolving on these subjects, to take under consideration, that of ways and means for redress. On the 16th arrived an express from Boston with letters to the delegates, and the Suffolk resolves. These were laid before the Congress, and were highly approved of and applauded, as you will see by the enclosed paper of the 19th, in which the proceeding of the Congress thereon is published, at large, by their order. A general nonimportation of British goods and manufactures, or of any goods from thence, appearing to the Congress one of the means of redress in our power, and which might probably be adopted, to prevent future difficulties and altercations on this subject among those, who might now be, or for some time past had been, sending orders for goods. The Congress unanimously came into the enclosed resolution on the 22d, and the same was ordered to be published immediately. Since this, a nonimportation of goods, &c. from Great Britian and Ireland, from and after the first of December next, has been unanimously

resolved on; but to carry so important a resolution into effect, it is necessary, that every possible precaution should now be taken, on the one hand to prevent wicked and desperate men, from breaking through and defeating it, either by fraud or force, and on the other to remove as far as possible every temptation to, or necessity for the violation thereof: for this a committee are appointed, who, not having as yet completed their report, nothing is published particularly on this subject more than what we now are at liberty, in general, to relate. We have the pleasure of finding the whole Congress, and through them the whole continent, of the same sentiment and opinion of the late proceedings and acts of the British parliament; but at the same time confess our anxiety for greater despatch of the business before us, than it is in our power, or perhaps in the nature of the subject, to effect. An assembly, like this, though it consists of less than sixty members, yet coming from remote colonies, each of which has some modes of transacting publick business peculiar to itself, some particular provincial rights and interests to guard and secure, must take some time to become so accquainted with each one's situation and connexions, as to be able to give an united assent to the ways and means proposed for effecting, what all are ardently desirous of, in this view. Our president, though a gentleman of great worth, and one who fills and supports the dignity of his station to universal acceptance, yet cannot urge forward matters to an issue with that despatch, which he might in a different assembly; or, considering the great importance of something more than a majority, an unanimity, would it be safe and prudent? Unanimity being in our view of the last importance, every one must be heard, even on those points, or subjects, which are in themselves not of the last importance. And indeed it often happens, that what is of little or no consequence to one colony, is of the last to another. We have thus hinted to your honour, our general situation, which we hope will account for our being delayed here beyond the time which either the colony or we ourselves expected.

Though our private concerns and connexions, as well as the publick expectation and interest of the colony urge us to make all possible despatch, yet as we find it would not only be of dangerous consequence, but perhaps impracticable to attempt pushing matters to a decision faster, than they now come to it in the course they are, we find it most prudent to wait patiently the issue. We shall be able to write you more particularly in a few days; but could not omit this opportunity of writing thus far on the subject of our delegation here.

We take liberty to enclose the copy of lord Dunmore's proclamation, on which we shall only say, it appears in some parts of it very extraordinary, and would occasion much greater speculation here than it does, were it not that few or none, save the proprietors, consider themselves interested in the controversy, and the whole attention of the publick is taken up on more important subjects. Laurel Hill is about forty miles on this side *Fort Du Quesne*, alias Fort Pitt, and is a range of mountains running northerly nearly in a line with the west boundary of the province of Maryland, and cuts off from this province one whole county, lately erected, by the name of Westmoreland. His lordship is now in those parts near the Ohio, with an army of fifteen hundred Virginians, reducing the Indian tribes to subjection, or driving them off the land. We cannot be positive as to the time of our return, but hope to be at New-Haven before the rising of the Assembly, and may probably be able to write with greater certainty in our next. We are, with the greatest respect, your honour's most obedient and most humble servants,

ELIPHALET DYER,
ROGER SHERMAN,
SILAS DEANE.

Since writing the above, we see the resolutions of the Congress respecting Suffolk County, &c. are printed in the Commonwealth papers, therefore judge it unnecessary to enclose them.

LETTER FROM GENERAL GAGE TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

*Boston, 29 April, 1775.*

Sir,

I TRANSMIT you herewith a circumstantial account of an unhappy affair that happened in this province, on the 19th instant, between his majesty's troops and the people of the country; whereby you will see the pitch their leaders have worked them up to, even to commit hostilities upon the king's troops, when an opportunity offered. It has been long said, that this was their plan, and so it has turned out. I am with regard and esteem, sir, your most obedient, humble servant.

THOMAS GAGE.

*Hon. Governour Trumbull.*

A CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT OF AN ATTACK THAT HAPPENED ON THE 19TH APRIL, 1775, ON HIS MAJESTY'S TROOPS, BY A NUMBER OF THE PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

ON Tuesday, the 18th April, about half past 10 at night, Lieutenant Colonel Smith of the 10th regiment embarked from the common at Boston, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the troops there, and landed on the opposite side, from whence he began his march towards Concord, where he was ordered to destroy a magazine of military stores, deposited there for the use of an army to be assembled in order to act against his majesty, and his government. The colonel called his officers together, and gave orders that the troops should not fire, unless fired upon; and, after marching a few miles, detached six companies of light infantry, under the command of major Pitcairn, to take possession of two bridges, on the other side of Concord; soon after, they heard many signal guns, and the ringing of alarm bells repeatedly, which convinced them, that the country was rising to oppose them, and that it was a preconcerted scheme to oppose the king's troops, whenever there should be a favourable opportunity for it. About 3 o'clock the next morning, the troops being advanced within two miles of Lexington, intelligence was received that about 500 men

in arms were assembled, and determined to oppose the king's troops; and, on major Pitcairn's galloping up to the head of the advanced companies, two officers informed him that a man (advanced from those that were assembled) had presented his musquet, and attempted to shoot them, but the piece flashed in the pan. On this, the major gave directions to the troops to move forward, but on no account to fire, nor even to attempt it, without orders. When they arrived at the end of the village, they observed about 200 armed men, drawn up on a green; and when the troops came within one hundred yards of them, they began to file off towards some stone walls on their right flank. The light infantry, observing this, ran after them. The major instantly called to the soldiers not to fire, but to surround and disarm them. Some of them, who had jumped over a wall, then fired four or five shot at the troops, wounded a man of the 10th regiment, and the major's horse in two places; and at the same time several shots were fired from a meeting house on the left. Upon this, without any order or regularity, the light infantry began a scattered fire, and killed several of the country people; but were silenced as soon as the authority of their officers could make them [hear.]

After this colonel Smith marched up with the remainder of the detachment, and the whole body proceeded to Concord, where they arrived about nine o'clock, without any thing further happening; but vast numbers of armed people were seen assembling on all the heights. While colonel Smith, with the grenadiers and part of the light infantry, remained at Concord to search for cannon, &c. there; he detached captain Parsons, with six light companies, to secure a bridge at some distance from Concord, and to proceed from thence to certain houses, where it was supposed there was cannon and ammunition. Captain Parsons, in pursuance of these orders, posted three companies at the bridge, and on some heights near it, under the command of captain Laurie of the 43d regiment, and with the remainder went and destroyed some cannon wheels, powder, and ball. The people still continued increasing on the heights, and in about an hour after, a large body of them began to move towards the

bridge. The light companies of the 4th and 10th then descended, and joined captain Laurie ; the people continued to advance in great numbers, and fired upon the king's troops, killed three men, wounded four officers, one serjeant, and four privates ; upon which, (after returning the fire) captain Laurie and his officers thought it prudent to retreat towards the main body at Concord, and were soon joined by two companies of grenadiers. When captain Parsons returned with the three companies over the bridge, they observed three soldiers on the ground, one of them scalped, (his head much mangled, and his ears cut off,) though not quite dead ; a sight, which struck the soldiers with horrour. Captain Parsons marched on, and joined the main body, who were only waiting for his coming up, to march back to Boston. Colonel Smith had executed his orders without opposition, by destroying all the military stores he could find ; both the colonel and major Pitcairn having taken all possible pains to convince the inhabitants, that no injury was intended them, and that if they opened their doors when required, to search for said stores, not the slightest mischief should be done ; neither had any of the people the least occasion to complain ; but they were sulky, and one of them even struck major Pitcairn. Except upon captain Laurie, at the bridge, no hostilities happened from the affair at Lexington, until the troops began their march back. As soon as the troops had got out of the town of Concord, they received a heavy fire on them from all sides, from walls, fences, houses, trees, barns, &c. which continued, without intermission, till they met the first brigade, with two field pieces, near Lexington, ordered out under the command of lord Percy, to support them. Upon the firing of the field pieces, the people's fire was, for a while, silenced ; but as they still continued to increase greatly in numbers, they fired again, as before, from all places, where they could find cover, upon the whole body, and continued so doing, for the space of fifteen miles. Notwithstanding their numbers, they did not attack openly during the whole day, but kept under cover on all occasions. The troops were very much fatigued, the greater part of them having been under arms all night, and

made a march of upwards of forty miles before they arrived at Charlestown, from whence they were ferried over to Boston.

The troops had above fifty killed, and many more wounded. Reports are various about the loss sustained by the country people; some make it very considerable, others not so much.

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[The following Journal was found in MS. among the papers of the late President STILES. It was probably procured for him by JOSIAH MEIGS, Esq. who was a tutor at Yale College in the time of the revolutionary war; afterward professor of mathematicks and natural philosophy in that seminary; and since president of the University of Georgia — a brother of Major MEIGS, the writer of this Journal. The name, at the close of the Journal, is in his hand writing. Major (afterward Colonel) MEIGS, was of Middleton, in Connecticut, and was one of the distinguished heroes of the American revolution. Beside the proof of his courage and other military accomplishments, furnished on the following occasion, his expedition to Long Island, in 1777, was one of the most brilliant and completely successful enterprizes, that was achieved during the war. For this achievement Congress directed a sword to be presented to him, and passed a resolution "expressive of the high sense entertained of his merit, and of the prudence, activity, and valour displayed by himself and his party in this expedition." He was with general WAYNE at the taking of Stony Point, in 1779; and is mentioned with honour by general WASHINGTON among those officers, "who conducted themselves with that coolness, bravery and perseverance, that will ever ensure success."—See Coll. Hist. Soc. II. 59, 102. Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. II. chap. 5. vol. IV. ch. 2. and Trumbull's print of "The Death of Montgomery." ED.]

## A JOURNAL OF OCCURRENCES,

*Which happened within the circle of my observation, in the detachment commanded by Col.* BENEDICT ARNOLD, *consisting of two battalions, which were detached from the army at Cambridge, in the year* 1775.

Field officers' names, Col. CHRISTOPHER GREEN, Col. ROGER ENOS, Maj. RETURN J. MEIGS, Maj. TIMOTHY BIGELOW.

1775. Sept. 9th. I MARCHED from Roxbury, (where I had been stationed the summer,) to Cambridge.

10th, 11th, 12th. At Cambridge, preparing for our march. 13th in the evening marched to Mystick. 14th continued our march through the towns of Malden, Lynn, and Salem, and encamped in Danvers.

15th. In the morning continued our march through the towns of Beverly, and Wenham, and encamped at Rowley.

16th. In the morning continued our march, and at 10 o'clock, A. M. arrived at Newburyport and encamped.

17th. Sunday, attended divine service at the Rev. Mr. Parsons' meeting at Newburyport. Dined at Mr. Nathaniel Tracy's. Weather fine.

18th. Preparing to embark. Dined at Mr. Dalton's. Weather fine.

19th. Embarked our whole detachment, consisting of 10 companies of musketmen and 3 companies of riflemen, amounting to 1100 men on board 10 transports. I embarked myself on board the sloop Britannia. The fleet came to sail at 10 o'clock, A. M. and sailed out of the harbour and lay to till one o'clock, P. M. when we received orders to sail for the river Kennebeck, fifty leagues from Newburyport—received, with our sailing orders, the following for signals, viz.

1st signal. For speaking with the whole fleet. Ensign at maintopmast head.

2d signal. For chasing a sail. Ensign at foretopmast head.

3d signal. For heaving to. Lanthorn at maintopmast head, and two guns if head on shore, and three if off shore.

4th signal. For making sail in the night. Lanthorn at masthead, and 4 guns; in the day, jack at foretopmast head.

5th signal. For dispersing, and every vessel making the nearest harbour. Ensign at main peak.

6th signal. For boarding any vessel. Jack at maintopmast head, and the whole fleet draw up in a line, as near as possible.

The wind being fair and very fresh I was very seasick.

20th. In the morning we made the mouth of Kennebeck right ahead, which we soon entered. The mouth of the river is narrow. We were hailed from the shore by a number of men under arms, which were stationed there. They were answered, that we were continental

troops, and that we wanted a pilot. They immediately sent one on board. The wind and tide favouring us, we proceeded up the river; 5 miles from the mouth lies an island, called Rousack. Upon this island is a handsome meeting house, and very good dwelling houses. The river to this island of very unequal width, from one mile to a quarter of a mile wide, the water deep, great tides, the shores generally rocky; ten miles from the mouth some elegant buildings, at a place called Georgetown; twenty miles from the mouth is a very large bay, called Merry-meeting Bay, 25 miles from the mouth an island, called Swan island. A little above this island we came to anchor, opposite to Pownalborough, where is a block-house. I would mention here, that this day makes fourteen only, since the orders were first given for building 200 battoes, collecting provisions for and levying 1100 men, and marching them to this place, viz. Gardiner's Town, which is great despatch.

21st. All day at Gardiner's Town; weather fine.

22d. Embarked on board battoes—proceeded up the river toward evening. I lodged at the house of Mr. North, and was very agreeably entertained.

23d. In the morning proceeded up the river, about 6 miles, to Fort Western, where an unhappy accident happened in the evening. A number of soldiers being in a private house, some words produced a quarrel, and one M'Cormick, being turned out of the house, immediately discharged his gun into the house, and shot a man through his body, of which he soon expired. M'Cormick was tried by a Court Martial, and received sentence of death; but denied the crime till he was brought to the place of execution, when he confessed the crime. But for some reasons he was reprieved till the pleasure of General Washington could be known.

24, 25, and 26th. At Fort Western, preparing for our tour to Quebec. Fort Western stands on the east side of the river Kennebeck, and consists of 2 block-houses, and a large house, 100 feet long, which were enclosed only with pickets. This house is the property of—— Howard, Esq. where we were exceedingly well entertain-

ed. Captain Morgan, with 3 companies of riflemen embarked in battoes, with orders to proceed with all expedition to the great carrying place, and clear the road, while the other divisions came up.

26th. Colonel Green embarked on board battoes three companies of musketmen, with whom went major Bigelow, on their tour to Canada.

27th. At three o'clock, P. M. I embarked on board my battoe with the third division of the army, consisting of 4 companies of musketmen, with 45 days' provision, and proceeded up the river, hoping for the protection of a kind providence. We encamped at evening 4 miles from Fort Western; the water some part of the way rapid. I had forgot to mention, that the navigation for vessels is good to Fort Western, which is 50 miles from the mouth.

28th. Proceeded up the river—the stream very rapid, and the bottom and shores rocky.

29th. In the morning continued our route up the river. At 11 o'clock, A. M. arrived at Fort Halifax, which stands on a point of land between the river Kennebeck and the river Sebastecook. This fort consists of two large block-houses, and a large barrack, which is enclosed with a picket fort. I tarried half an hour at the fort—then crossed the river to a carrying place, which is 97 rods carriage—then proceeded up the river, which falls very rapidly over a rocky bottom, 5 miles, and encamped. The above falls are Toconock.

30th. Proceeded up the river 7 miles, and encamped, where Colonel Arnold joined us at night, and encamped with us.

October 1st. Proceeded up the river 9 miles, and encamped. The land we passed this day generally very good; the timber, butternut, beech, hemlock, white pine, red cedar, &c.

2d. In the morning proceeded up the river, and at 10 o'clock arrived at Scohegin falls, where is a carrying place of 250 paces, which lies across a small island in the river. Here I waited for my division to come up, and encamped on the west side the river, opposite the island, with captain Goodrich. It rained in the night. I turned out, and put on my clothes, and lay down again and slept

well till morning. Our course in general, from the mouth of the river to this place, has been from north to north east.

3d. Proceeded up the river to Norridgewalk. On my way I called at a house, where I saw a child 14 months old. This is the first white child born in Norridgewalk. At 7 o'clock in the evening, a little below Norridgewalk, my battoe filled with water going up the falls. Here I lost my kettle, butter, and sugar, a loss not to be replaced here. At Norridgewalk are to be seen the vestiges of an Indian fort and chapel, and a priest's grave.* There appears to have been some intrenchment, and a covered way through the bank of the river, for the conveniency of getting water. This must have been a considerable seat of the natives, as there are large Indian fields cleared. This day I wrote to Mrs. Meigs, to my brother, and Ensign Warner.—Opposite to Norridgewalk, which lies on the east side the river, a river comes in from the westward, called Sandy River.

4th. I proceeded up the river about one mile, and crossed the river, where is a carrying place of one mile and a quarter; here I came up with the second division, commanded by col. Green.

5th. All day at the carrying place. At evening moved one company up the river one mile, where they encamped, waiting for the other companies of my division.

6th. Still at the carrying place, getting over boats and provisions. At 4 o'clock, P. M. I proceeded up the river 5 miles, and encamped.

7th. Continued our march up the river, and 12 o'clock arrived at Carratuncas carrying place. Here the river is confined between two rocks, not more than 40 rods wide, which lie in piles 40 rods in length on each side the river. These rocks are polished curiously in some places, by the swift running of the water. The carrying place here is 433 paces in length.

8th. All day at the carrying place at Carratuncas—weather very rainy. Captain Dearborn's company passed the carrying place this day, at 3 o'clock, P. M.

* The grave of Sebastian Ralle, the French Jesuit missionary, who was killed here in 1724. Ed.

9th. Captain Ward's company passed the carrying place this day, at 12 o'clock. At one o'clock, P. M. I left the carrying place, and proceeded up the river, about 4 miles, and encamped. The stream these 4 miles very rapid, and in some places very shoal, being divided by a number of islands, which appear fine land. From this encampment some high mountains rise to our view to the northward.

10th. Proceeded up the river, which continues its course northwest between two high mountains, and encamped at the great carrying place, which is 12½ miles across, including three ponds, which we are obliged to pass.

11th. I crossed the great carrying place, as far as the third pond. There had the pleasure to discover Lieut. Steel and party, who had been sent forward on a reconnoitering command, as far as Chaudiere pond. They discovered nothing with regard to the enemy. I returned back to the second pond, and lodged with Col. Green.

12th. In the morning I repassed the second and first pond, and went to the river and gave orders, which I received from Col. Arnold, for building a block-house; and then returned and crossed the first pond and encamped. In these ponds we found great plenty of trout. Col. Enos arrived this day at the great carrying place, with the 4th division of the army, consisting of three companies of musketmen.

13th. Employed in carrying our boats and provision across the first pond and the second portage. I went myself once across the third portage, and returned back to the east side of the 2d portage, and encamped with Col. Arnold—the wind so high, that the boats could not cross the third pond. To this time our men have killed four moose, which is excellent meat.

14th. At eleven o'clock, I repassed the first pond to see Capt. Dearborn's and Capt. Ward's companies over. Last night a tree, blown down by the wind, fell upon one of our men, and bruised him in such a manner, that his life is despaired of. In the evening I returned back to the 2d portage, and encamped with Capt. Ward.

15th. This morning orders were given, that the allowance should be 3-4 lb. pork and 3-4 lb. flour per man per diem. At 2 o'clock I crossed the 3d pond, and encamped in a cedar swamp. This 3d pond is about nine miles in circumference, and is surrounded with cedar timber. This pond is much larger than the other two.

16th. In the morning I went forward to the dead river, and took part of capt. Goodrich's company, and returned to the third pond, where I met capt. Ward's company. At evening I returned to the dead river, marched one mile up the river, and encamped with capt. Hanchet.

17th. In the morning I set out with capt. Hanchet to reconnoitre a very high mountain that lies about 10 miles from our encampment. But we were too late in the day, and returned towards evening without being able to ascend the mountain.

18th. In the morning ordered eight men to kill two oxen, which we had drove with great difficulty to this place, and to bring forward five quarters to the detachment that was gone forward, and to leave three quarters under a guard for col. Enos's division. Then I proceeded up the river with my division about 20 miles, the water running with a very gentle current, and encamped on the south side the river. Here I joined col. Arnold and col. Green's division. The land we passed this day very fine—thinly timbered, and mostly covered with grass as high as a man's waist.

19th. In the morning it rained. We tarried in our camp till 2 o'clock, P. M. Then continued our route up the river 5 miles, and encamped on the north side the river. This afternoon we passed three small falls; the current, except the fall, very gentle. This day I received orders from col. Arnold to proceed with my division, with the greatest expedition, to Chaudiere river, and when arrived there, to make up our cartridges, and wait for the rear division, and furnish a number of pioneers, under command of Mr. Ayres, to clear the carrying place.

20th. Proceeded up the river, passed several small falls and one portage, only 13 rods across, and encamped at evening. Weather rainy all day.

21st. In the morning proceeded up the river about 3 miles, to a carrying place 35 perches across. Then continued our route up the river about 2 miles to a portage 30 perches across, where we encamped.

22d. Continued our route up the river about 3 miles. In our way we passed 2 portages, or carrying places, each 74 perches. Our whole course this day is only 3 miles, owing to the extraordinary rise of the river the last night. In some parts of the river the water rose 8 feet perpendicular, and in many places overflowed its banks, and filled the country with water, which made it very difficult for our own men that were on shore to march.

23d. In the morning continued the march, though very slow, on account of the rapidity of the stream. A number of our men that marched on the shore, marched up a river that came in from the westward, mistaking it for the main river, which, as soon as we discovered, we despatched some boats after them. The river now falls fast. Encamped this evening at a carrying place, 15 perches across. Here a council was held, in which it was resolved, that a captain, with 50 men, should march with all despatch by land to Chaudiere pond, and that the sick, of my division and captain Morgan's, should return back to Cambridge. At this place the stream is very rapid, in passing which, five or six battoes filled and overset, by which we lost several barrels of provisions, a number of guns, some clothes and cash.

24th. Proceeded up the river, though with great fatigue, the water being very rapid. Our whole course this day only 4 miles, when we encamped. This day I wrote to Mrs. Meigs by the officer that returned with the sick.

25th. Continued our route up the river, about six miles, and encamped; the stream very rapid. In our way we passed 3 carrying places, two of them 4 rods each, the other 90 rods.

26th. Continued our route, and soon entered a pond, about two miles across, and passed through a narrow streight, only $2\frac{1}{2}$ perches wide, about 4 rods long; then entered another small pond about a mile over, and then through a narrow streight about a mile and an half

long, to a third pond, three miles wide; then passed through a narrow streight, and entered a fourth pond, about a quarter of a mile wide; then entered a narrow, crooked river about three miles in length, to a carrying place, 15 perches across, to a pond about 100 perches across, and encamped on the northwest side, upon a high hill, which is a carrying place. These ponds are surrounded with mountains.

27th. In the morning continued our route across the carrying place, which is one mile, to a pond 50 rods wide, to a carrying place, 44 perches long, to a pond about two miles wide, to a carrying place of 4 miles and 60 perches. This carrying place lies across the height of land. (This high land runs through the colonies to Georgia.) It is about 2 miles from the last mentioned pond to the height, where the streams all run the reverse of the rivers we came up in. We encamped this evening on the height of land.

28th. In the morning crossed the heights to Chaudiere river. Made division of our provisions and ammunition, and marched back upon the height and encamped. Here I delivered the following sums of money to the following persons; to col. Green 500 dollars, to major Bigelow 501, do. and paid Mr. Gatchel 44 dollars; paid to Mr. Berry 4*l.* 5*s.* lawful money.

29th. Continued our march by land towards Quebec. At one o'clock we came to Nepess Lake, which we then supposed to be Ammeguntick Lake, but were mistaken. We continued our march till night, and encamped on the bank of Lake Nepess, where there had been an Indian camp.

30th. Marched through the woods about 15 miles, and encamped near the north end of Ammeguntick Lake.

November 1st. Continued our march through the woods—the marching this day exceedingly bad. This day I passed a number of soldiers, who had no provisions, and some that were sick, and not in my power to help or relieve them except to encourage them. One or two dogs were killed, which the distressed soldiers eat with good appetite, even the feet and skins. This day, on our march upon the banks of the Chaudiere, we saw several

boats, which were split upon the rocks, and one of captain Morgan's men was drowned. The travelling this day and yesterday very bad, over mountains and morasses.

2d. In the morning continued our march on the banks of the Chaudiere. The marching this day better than we have had. The river grows wider and runs very quick, and some places very shallow. We passed this day several small islands—the weather this day exceeding fine, clear, and as warm as ever I saw at this season in New England.

3d. Continued our march on the banks of the Chaudiere. At 12 o'clock we met provisions, to the inexpressible joy of our soldiers, who were near starving. After refreshing ourselves, marched a few miles and encamped.

4th. In the morning continued our march. At 11 o'clock arrived at a French house, and were hospitably used. This is the first house I saw for 31 days, having been that time in a rough, barren, uninhabited wilderness, where we never saw human being, except our own men. Immediately after our arrival, we were supplied with fresh beef, fowls, butter, pheasants, and vegetables. This settlement is called Sertigan. It lies 25 leagues from Quebec.

5th. Marched down to the parish of St. Mary's—the country thinly settled—the people kind. They supply us with plenty of provisions.

6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th. I was on business up and down the country on each side the river—the Canadians very hospitable. This day our men, that were gone forward to Point Levi, made prisoner of Mr. M'Kenzie, a midshipman of the Hunter sloop of war. This night I lodged at St. Henry's.

10th. I marched down to Point Levi, and joined the detachment.

11th, 12th, and 13th. I was at Point Levi. Nothing extraordinary happened, except that a deserter came in to us from Quebec, by whom we are informed, that col. M'Lean had arrived from Sorel with his regiment. I had forgot to mention, that the Lizard frigate arrived a few days before our arrival at Point Levi. On the even-

ing of this day, at nine o'clock, we began to embark our men on board 35 canoes, and at 4 o'clock in the morning we got over and landed about 500 men, entirely undiscovered, although two men of war were stationed to prevent us. We landed at the same place that general Wolfe did, in a small cove, which is now called *Wolfe's cove*. Soon after our landing, a barge from the Lizard frigate came rowing up the river. We hailed her, and ordered her to come in to the shore. They refusing, we fired upon them. They pushed off shore, and cried out. After parading our men on the heights, and sending a reconnoitering party towards the city, and placing sentries, we marched across the plains of Abram, and took possession of a large house, which was formerly owned by general Murray, and other houses adjacent, which were fine accommodations for our troops.

14th. This morning employed in placing proper guards on the different roads, to cut off the communication between the city and country. At 12 o'clock the enemy surprised one of our advanced sentries, and made him prisoner. The guard soon discovered the enemy, and pursued, but were not able to overtake them. We rallied the main body, and marched upon the heights near the city, and gave them three huzzas, and marched our men fairly in their view; but they did not choose to come out to us. They gave us a few shot from the ramparts. We then returned to our camp. This afternoon they set fire to the suburbs, and burned several houses. This evening col. Arnold sent a flag to the town, with a demand of the garrison, in the name and behalf of the United Colonies. As the flag approached the walls, he was fired upon, contrary to all rule or custom on such occasions. We constantly lie on our arms to prevent surprise. We are informed by a gentleman from Quebec, that we might expect an attack very soon, from Quebec.

15th. The commanding officer this day sent into the town a flag, concluding that the firing on our flag yesterday was through mistake; but he was treated in the same manner as yesterday, on which he returned. An express went off to general Montgomery this morning. About 12 o'clock we were alarmed with a report, that troops in

town were coming out to attack us. We turned out to meet them; but it proved a false report.

16th. This morning it is reported, that Montreal surrendered to general Montgomery the last Sabbath, and that the shipping were taken. One of our men, a sergeant in one of the rifle companies, received a shot from a cannon in one of his legs, which was shattered in such a manner, that amputation was necessary. This day we sent a company of men and took possession of the general hospital. The Canadians are constantly coming in to express their satisfaction at our coming into the country.

17th. The sergeant that was wounded yesterday, died this morning, with great composure and resignation. We have this morning a confirmation of the surrender of Montreal to general Montgomery. A soldier just came in from Quebec—no intelligence extraordinary from him—a party of our men gone over to Point Levi with boats, to bring over a part of our detachment that were left there with provisions. Weather pleasant.

18th. We have orders to parade tomorrow morning at 3 o'clock.

19th. Early in the morning decamped, and marched up to Point aux Trembles, about 7 leagues from Quebec. The country through which we marched thick settled; every few miles a handsome little chapel. We have with us 7 prisoners and 2 deserters.

20th. An express came in this morning from general Montgomery at Montreal. The contents are, that the king's troops had abandoned the town in the shipping, and that he was about to attack them with row gallies and boats, with artillery mounted in them; and that he should immediately join our detachment with men and artillery. We have now an express ready to return to Montreal, by which conveyance I wrote to my family.

21st. The curate of the parish at Point aux Trembles dines this day at head quarters. I wrote this day to my honoured father and to Mrs. Meigs, by Mr. William Grubb.

22d. An express arrived from Montreal, who informs, that all the shipping there were taken last Sabbath

evening, and that general Montgomery was about to march for Quebec.

23d. An express arrived from Montreal, by whom we have intelligence, that general Montgomery was on his march yesterday, and that he had sent clothing the 20th instant for our troops. One of our men came in from the woods, who had been left behind, who says, that himself, with one more, killed a horse, and lived on his flesh several days.

24th. This morning the Hunter sloop of war and 3 other armed vessels appeared in sight. An express now going to meet the troops that are coming down from Montreal.

25th. The Hunter sloop, a large snow, and an armed schooner, came to anchor opposite our quarters. This morning a number of men were sent up the river, in a canoe, to meet the troops that are coming down.

26th. A number of gentlemen came in this morning from Quebec. I wrote to my father, and two letters to Mrs. Meigs.

27th. We are informed, that the house of major Caldwell, in which our troops were quartered, in St. Foy's, is burned.

28th. Colonel Arnold gone up to Jackarty to hasten down the ammunition.

29th. Captain Morgan, who had been sent down to the neighbourhood of Quebec, sent up to our quarters two prisoners, which he took in the suburbs.

30th. This day an express is gone to meet general Montgomery. Captain Duggin is arrived with ammunition and provisions.

1st December. General Montgomery arrived this day at one o'clock, with three armed schooners, with men, artillery, ammunition and provision, to the great joy of our detachment. Towards evening our detachment turned out, and marched down to the general's quarters in two battalions, and was there reviewed. The general complimented us on our appearance.

2d. In the morning I assisted in sending down our field artillery by land. The large cannon are ordered down in battoes, which when landed, the battoes are to go to Point Levi for the scaling ladders.

3d. Major Brown arrived from Sorel. The soldiers drawing their clothing.

4th. We marched at 12 o'clock for our camp before Quebec. At evening quartered at the house of the curate of the parish of St. Augustine. We were entertained with hospitality and elegance. The curate's name, Michael Beriau.

5th. In the morning proceeded on our march for St. Foy, our camp before Quebec, where we arrived about noon. This day I wrote to Mrs. Meigs.

6th. I wrote to Titus Hosmer, Esq. at Middleton. Weather cold, with squalls of snow.

7th. Yesterday, I am informed, that our men took a sloop, with provisions and some cash.

8th. I sent my watch to repair. We received some shot from the city; but no person hurt.

9th. A party of 100 men are ordered to cover the train this evening, while they bombard the town. I went with this party—twenty-seven shells were thrown into the town. This day we began to erect a battery before St. John's gate.

10th. The enemy began to cannonade our camp early in the morning, and continued it till night. A party of our men are ordered into St. Roch this evening, to cover the train who are ordered there this evening, with five mortars and two field pieces. This evening 45 shells were thrown into the town. The enemy returned a few shells, and some 24 round and grape shot—none of our men were hurt; but a Canadian woman was shot through the body by a cannon shot from the enemy.

11th. The enemy kept up a faint cannonade upon our men this day. One of our men this morning lost his way in a snow storm, and found himself under the walls of the town, and was fired upon from the walls of the city, and wounded in the thigh, but came off. This evening we sent 45 shells into the town. I had the command of the working party at the battery this night. The weather extreme cold. I froze my feet. The enemy gave us a few shot and shells, but none of them struck the battery.

12th. The platforms nearly ready for the gun battery. Weather cold. One of our guns was rendered unfit for use, by a shot from the enemy.

13th. We opened our battery. We had two men wounded this day in the battery by a cannon shot from the town—5 men of col. Livingston's regiment of Canadians were wounded by a cannon shot, which went through a house in St. John's suburbs, where they were quartered.

14th. I have just now received an account that one of our men was killed in our battery, and several wounded this evening. We threw into the town 24 bombs. At the same time we were briskly cannonaded from the town.

15th. This morning before sunrise our battery began to play on the town, and continued one hour, and then ceased by order of the general; and a flag was sent to the city, but was refused admittance. After some discourse with the officer from the ramparts, the flag returned. At 2 o'clock, P. M. our battery began to play on the town. Our mortars at the same time began to play from the suburbs of St. Roch, and sent into the town 50 bombs. This day we had two men killed at our battery, and one of our guns damaged by a shot from the enemy. It is now in agitation to storm the town, which, if resolved, I hope will be undertaken with proper sense of the nature and importance of such an attack, and vigorously executed.

16th. The enemy this morning began to cannonade our quarters. Several shot struck the house. It was thought best to remove to other quarters. One of our men was shot through the body with a grape shot. His life is despaired of. I wrote this day to Mrs. Meigs by way of Montreal. This evening a council was held by all the commission officers of col. Arnold's detachment; a large majority of which were for storming the garrison of Quebec, as soon as the men are provided with bayonets, spears, hatchets, and hand granadoes.

17th. All day at capt. Hanchet's quarters. Nothing extraordinary happened. Weather cold and snowy.

18th. This morning I came to Mr. Devine's house to quarter. This day I wrote to Mrs. Meigs. Weather snowy.

19th. No occurrences extraordinary. Weather moderate and snowy.

20th. Weather cold. Several of our men have the small pox at this time.

21st. We have orders that all our men wear hemlock sprigs in their hats, to distinguish them in the attack upon the works. I have wrote this day to Mrs. Meigs.

22d. Preparation is making, and things seem ripening fast for the assault upon the works of Quebec. The blessing of heaven attend the enterprise. This evening is celebrated as the anniversary of a happy event or circumstance in my life.

23d. This day the officers of our detachment met. The general attended to compose some matters, which were happily settled.

24th. I was on a general court martial. Our chaplain preached a sermon in the chapel of the General Hospital, which is exceedingly elegant inside, and richly decorated with carvings and gilt work.

25th. Col. Arnold's detachment paraded this evening at capt. Morgan's quarters, at 4 o'clock. His Honour general Montgomery attended, and addressed us, on the subject of an assault upon the town of Quebec, in a sensible, spirited manner.

Memo. The sun sets on the 21st day of December, at 4 hours, 13 minutes, 21 seconds, and rises at 7 hours, 46 minutes, 41 seconds. The shortest day is 8 hours, 27 minutes, 38 seconds.

26th. Nothing material happened. Weather cold.

27th. This evening the troops assembled by order of the general, with design to make an attack on the works of Quebec; and were about to march, when an order from the general came for their returning to quarters, the weather not being thought proper for the attack.

28th. The following came out in general orders:

Viz. "The general had the most sensible pleasure in seeing the good disposition with which the troops last night moved to the attack. It was with the greatest reluctance he found himself called upon by his duty to repress their ardour; but he should hold himself answerable for the loss of those brave men, whose lives might be saved by waiting for a favourable opportunity."

This day is the 35th anniversary of my birth. A variety of scenes have presented themselves, in this short term—prosperity and adversity have alternately chequered my path. Some dangers escaped, and favours innumerable, demand a tribute of the warmest gratitude.

29th. This day dined with general Montgomery, and spent the afternoon and evening with him in an agreeable manner. This evening as a party of our men were executing a command in the suburbs of St. Roch, were fired upon from the walls, and had one man wounded in the leg.

30th. This morning between the hours of 1 and 3 o'clock in the morning our train threw into the city about 30 shells, which produced a number of shells and a brisk cannonade, which continued all the day. As it had been determined to make an attack upon the city, the ladders being ready, and the weather stormy, which was thought best for our purpose, the troops are ordered to parade at 2 o'clock tomorrow morning.

31st. The troops assembled at 2 o'clock this morning. Those that were to make the attack by the way of Cape Diamond assembled at the general's quarters upon the heights of Abraham, and were headed by general Montgomery.* Those that were to make the attack through the suburbs of St. Roch, assembled at our guard house in St. Roch, and were headed by col. Arnold; which were two battalions that were detached from the army at Cambridge and Roxbury.

Colonel Livingston, with a regiment of Canadians, and major Brown with part of a regiment of Boston troops, were to make a false attack upon the walls to the southward of St. John's gate, and in the mean time set fire to the gate, with combustibles prepared for that purpose.

These different bodies were to move to the attack from their respective places of assembly, exactly at 5 o'clock; but the different routes these bodies had to make, the depth of the snow, and other obstacles, prevented the execution of col. Livingston's command.

* The division of the army commanded by general Montgomery, consisted of the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th battalions of New York troops, and part of col. Easton's regiment.

The general moved with his command, with a number of carpenters with him, to the pickets at Cape Diamond. The carpenters soon cut the pickets with saws, the general pulled them down with his own hand, and entered with his aid de camp Mr. M'Pherson, Mr. Antill the engineer, capt. Cheeseman, and the carpenters, and some others.

The troops did not follow, except a few, who attacked the guard house. The enemy gave them a discharge of grape shot from their cannon, and of small arms at the same time—at which time the general, his aid de camp, capt. Cheeseman, and some few others bravely fell. The firing then entirely ceased; the lights in the guard house were out, at which time, it is said, the troops might have entered. Col. Campbell thought best to retreat; which they did, and carried off the wounded to the camp.

I now come to col. Arnold's division, which was to proceed to the attack in the following manner. A lieutenant and 30 men were to march in front, as an advanced guard; then the artillery company, with a field piece mounted on a sled; then the main body, of which capt. Morgan's company was first. The advanced party were to open when arrived near the battery, which was raised upon a wharf, which we were obliged to attack in our way; and when our field piece had given them a shot or two, the advanced party were to rush forward, with the ladders, and force the battery above mentioned, while capt. Morgan's company was to march round the wharf, if possible, on the ice. But the snow being deep, the piece of artillery was brought on very slow, and we were finally obliged to leave it behind; and, to add to the delay, the main body were led wrong, there being no road, the way dark and intricate, among stores, houses, boats, and wharves, and harassed at the same time with a constant fire of the enemy from the walls, which killed and wounded numbers of our men, without our being able to annoy them in the least from our situation. The field piece not coming up, the advanced party with captain Morgan's company attacked the battery, some firing into the port holes, or kind of embrasures, while others scaled the battery with ladders, and immediately took possession of

it, with the guard, consisting of 30 men. This attack was executed with so much despatch, that the enemy only discharged one of their cannon. In this attack we lost but one or two men, the enemy lost about the same number. In the attack of this battery, col. Arnold received a wound in one of his legs, with a musket ball, and was carried to the General Hospital. As soon as the prisoners were taken care of, and a few men came up, which was perhaps half an hour, our men attempted the next barrier, but could not force it, as the main body were some time in coming up, occasioned by obstacles before mentioned. To add to this, that part of the army, commanded by general Montgomery, after his fall having retreated, gave the enemy an opportunity to turn their whole force and attention upon us, so that before our men attempted the second barrier, the enemy had got such a number of men behind the barrier and in the houses, that we were surrounded with such a fire from treble our numbers, that we found it impossible to force it, the enemy being under cover, while we were exposed to their fire. Here we found some brave officers and men. To add to our embarrassment, we lost the advantage of one of our companies, which was quartered on the north side of the river St. Charles, not having notice in season, who, in endeavoring to join the main body, was surprised by a body of men, who made a sortie through Palace gate, and the most of them made prisoners. Our men near the second barrier took possession of some houses, and kept up a fire from them for some time; but as the body, which sallied out of Palace gate, came upon the rear, and our numbers greatly lessened by our killed and wounded, it was thought best to retreat to the first battery which we had taken, which we did, with the greatest part of our men; where, upon a consultation of officers present, it was the unanimous opinion, that it was impracticable to retreat, as we must have passed a great part of the way under the walls of the town, exposed to a line of fire for a quarter of a mile, and our rear exposed to the fire of the enemy at the same time, and the party that sallied through Palace gate to oppose in front. We maintained our ground till about ten o'clock, and no hopes of relief,

as general Montgomery's party were gone, and were at last obliged to surrender prisoners of war, which we did with great reluctance. The firing continued from half past five till about ten o'clock, A. M.

By the best account we can obtain, our loss in killed and wounded amounts to about one hundred. The loss, which the town sustained, we cannot obtain. It must be small in comparison of ours, owing to their advantage of situation.

We had one captain and two lieutenants killed.

Wounded officers—Colonel Arnold, capt. Hubbard, capt. Lamb, lieutenant Steel, lieut. Tisdale, brigade major Ogden.

The loss in that part of the army commanded by the general, beside the general, his aid de camp Mr. M'Pherson, and capt. Cheeseman.

Privates, the number unknown—about 4 or 5, I am since informed.

His honour brigadier general Montgomery was shot through both his thighs, and through his head. His body was taken up the next day. An elegant coffin was prepared, and he was decently interred the next Thursday after.

I am informed, that when his body was taken up, his features were not in the least distorted, but his countenance appeared regular, serene, and placid, like the soul that late had animated it.

The general was tall and slender, well limbed, of genteel, easy, graceful, manly address. He had the voluntary love, esteem, and confidence of the whole army.

His death, though honourable, is lamented, not only as the death of an amiable, worthy friend, but as an experienced, brave general, whose country suffers greatly by such a loss at this time. The native goodness and rectitude of his heart might easily be seen in his actions. His sentiments, which appeared on every occasion, were fraught with that unaffected goodness, which plainly discovered the goodness of the heart from whence they flowed.

In the afternoon the officers were confined in the Seminary, and well accommodated with bedding. The sol-

diers were confined in the Recollets, or Jesuit's College. I dined this day with capt. Law, the principal engineer, whom in the morning I made prisoner, but in a few hours I was, in my turn, made prisoner. Capt. Law has treated me with great politeness and ingenuity. In my return from capt. Law's quarters, I called at the house of Mr. —— Munroe, who politely invited me to live at his house, if I could have permission.

January 1st, 1776. This whole day in the Seminary. The first day I knew confinement. I hope I shall bear it with becoming fortitude. Major M'Kenzie brought general Montgomery's kneebuckles and Mr. M'Pherson's gold broach, and made a present of them to me, which I highly value for the sake of their late worthy owner."

RETURN J. MEIGS.

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### A SKETCH OF AMHERST, IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

*Situation and Boundaries.* AMHERST, in the county of Hillsborough, is situated on Souhegan river, in north latitude 42° 54′; west longitude, 71° 33′;* and is 380 miles from Philadelphia, 50 miles N. W. of Boston, and nearly the same distance from Portsmouth, the capital of the state. It is bounded east by Merrimac, south by Hollis, south and southwest by Milford, northwest by Mount Vernon, north by New Boston, and northeast by Bedford. The limits of the town are thus defined in the charter granted by gov. Wentworth, viz. " Beginning at Souhegan river, thence running north one degree west, on the townships of Merrimac and Bedford, six miles, thence running west on Bedford, and a tract of land called New Boston six miles; then south about five miles and an half to Souhegan river aforesaid; then by said river to the place where it began." The limits of the town were evidently more extensive than represented by the charter, as it was nearly ten miles in length, and about seven in width.† Its

* According to Dr. Morse's Gazetteer.—This town was incorporated in 1760, not in 1762 as in said Gazetteer.

† See a correction in Vol. IV. 74.

size has been considerably curtailed by detaching the towns of Milford and Mount Vernon, which formerly constituted part of this town. The former was incorporated in 1794, and the latter in 1803.

The compact part of the town contains about thirty houses, situated upon a level plain, about half a mile in length, and the same in breadth. The houses are mostly ranged in two rows, (though not straight) extending about N. E. to S. W. with a considerable space of ground between. The meeting house, which has a clock, school-house, court-house, and jail are situated at the north and northeasterly part of the plain. The prospect is limited on every side, except to the N. W. where at the distance of three miles, the pleasant and elevated town of Mount Vernon presents itself to view.

*Rivers.* The only river which runs through this town is Souhegan, which is composed of several branches. The most considerable branch originates in Ashburnham in Massachusetts. From Ashburnham it runs northerly through Ashby, at the northwest angle of the county of Middlesex, into New Ipswich, through Mason, Milford, and this town, and empties into Merrimac river in the township of Merrimac. This is a considerable river, having its waters augmented by various streams before it falls into the Merrimac. The intervale lands, which border it in this town, are rich and fertile. There is a number of valuable mills and factories on this stream, in several towns through which it passes.

*Ponds.* There are several natural ponds in this town. The only one of any considerable magnitude is situated in the northeasterly part of Amherst, and partly in the township of Merrimac. It is called Babboosuk, and is about three miles in length. Its breadth varies from one fourth of a mile to about a mile. This pond abounds with fish of various kinds, and is much resorted to by persons in the vicinity for amusement. The other ponds, which are small, are situated in different parts of the town, and hardly deserve particular notice.

*Societies.* There are two incorporated societies in this town, instituted for the purpose of advancing individual and social happiness. These are the "Amherst

Social Library" Society, and the "Handellian Musical Society." The first was incorporated June 20, 1797, and has a respectable library. The Handellian Musical Society was incorporated June 5, 1805, for the purpose of introducing a just tase for musick. Its professed objects are, "to cultivate the art of musick—to collect and introduce into practice the best productions—to acquire and diffuse a correct taste, and to enjoy the refined pleasures of melody and harmony." These important objects have been obtained. The members have contributed their influence to effect a reformation of psalmody in the vicinity, and have happily succeeded. The former depravity of taste, which prevailed, and which manifested itself in cherishing those light and frivolous compositions, which infested our churches, is checked.

*Academy.* The Aurean academy was incorporated in 1790, and was an useful and flourishing institution for several years. Under the superintendence of Messrs. Walker,* Staniford,† Freeman, Appleton,‡ M'Pherson and Cole,‖ it was, perhaps, rivalled by none in the State. It was discontinued in 1801, for want of efficient funds. This town is divided into nine school districts, and has about the same number of school houses.

*Bank.* The Hillsborough Bank was incorporated June 18, 1806, for twenty years, cum privilegio, of a capital from 50,000 to 200,000 dollars. The first bills were issued October, 1807. It has not been in operation for several years, having refused payment of bills in August, 1809.

*Population.* The number of inhabitants in 1775, was 1428; in 1790, 2369; and in 1800, 2152, not including about eighty families belonging to Milford, which were detached from Amherst in 1794. According to the census of 1810, the number of inhabitants was 1554; 598 less than in 1800, by reason of Mount Vernon, which was taken from this town in 1803. The ancient limits of the town probably contain 3434 inhabitants.

* Charles Walker, Esq. of Concord, (N H.) † Daniel Staniford, A. M. of Boston. ‡ Rev. J. Appleton, D. D. Pres. of Bowd. Coll. ‖ Thomas Cole, A. M. of Salem.

*Courts and Offices.* The Supreme Judicial Court, and the Circuit Court of Common Pleas hold their sessions in this town twice a year. The offices of Probate, Clerk of Circuit Court of Common Pleas, and Register of Deeds, are kept here. There are five attorneys' offices in this town.

*Historical Observations, Sketches of Biography, &c.* The tract of land which constituted this town, was originally granted from Massachusetts, and remained under its jurisdiction till the boundary lines between Massachusetts and New Hampshire were adjusted, when it was confirmed to the latter. Its original name was *Souhegan*, and this name it retained for many years after its first settlement. The present charter of the town was granted by Governour Benning Wentworth, January 18, 1760, when it assumed the name of Amherst. The first town meeting holden under this charter, was on the 20th February in the same year. The first settlement was made about the year 1733, by emigrants from Billerica and Middleton, in Massachusetts, who seated themselves not far from the present centre of the town. About seven years after this, the settlement contained fifteen families, and in 1749, this number had been considerably augmented by emigrations from several towns near, or contiguous to those above mentioned. In June, 1741, the Rev. Daniel Wilkins, the first pastor of the church in this place, was ordained. He was born in Middleton, and received his education at Harvard College, and was graduated there in 1736. He first visited this town, when it contained only fourteen families, and lived to see it emerge from a wilderness, to a flourishing and populous township, which at the time of his death, probably contained upwards of 2,000 inhabitants. The Rev. Mr. Wilkins was ordained September 23, 1741, O. S. and died 1783, at a considerably advanced age, having enjoyed the assistance of a colleague almost five years. One of his sons, John Wilkins, was graduated at Harvard College in 1764, and died at Athens, (Ohio,) in 1808. He was probably the first native of the town who received a liberal education.

In 1752, there were seven garrisoned houses, which were resorted to by the inhabitants as places of refuge in

times of alarm and danger. The Indians, at that period made frequent irruptions upon some of the frontiers, destroying the fruits of industry, and captivating the settlers. It is believed they never committed much mischief in this place, and there is no account of their killing any person within the precincts of the town. Several years after the town was incorporated, it was classed with Bedford, an adjoining town, in their choosing a representative to the General Court. In the time of the revolution, it was entitled to two representatives. In 1773, the proportion which this town paid to 1000*l.* was 19*l.* 7*s.*—It was more than either town in the county paid.

In 1775 this town was deprived of a very useful citizen in the removal of Doct. Seth Ames, who had resided in this place several years, and practised physick with great reputation. He was brother to the celebrated Fisher Ames, and possessed a spark of that genius, which shone so conspicuously in him. He graduated at Harvard College in 1764, and is represented by those who recollect him, as a person of brilliant talents, and eminently calculated to render much important service to the community. His removal from town, it is believed, was occasioned by a declension of his health. He went to his friends in Dedham, where he died in 1776. During the disturbances between Great Britain and this country, the state of New Hampshire was governed by committees and conventions, to which necessity induced obedience. To the first convention, which assembled in 1774, Paul Dudley Sargent, Esq. was delegated from this town. A large proportion of the citizens of this town united in opposing the oppressive measures of Great Britain during the revolution. Such was the temperament of the publick mind in this vicinity, that the small number of persons who were suspected of favouring the royal cause, were treated with a severity which was considered reprehensible by many good friends to their country. When war actually commenced, the inhabitants of this town manifested that spirit and patriotism, which *freemen* will ever manifest, when their rights are invaded. A company of soldiers was immediately raised, who repaired to

the assistance of their brethren with alacrity. So prompt was the town in furnishing men for the military service of the United States, that previous to April 1, 1777, one hundred twenty persons had engaged in the army, among whom are recognized two colonels, one major, five captains, and nine subaltern officers.

March 3, 1780, the Rev. Jeremiah Barnard, present pastor of the church in this place, was ordained. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1773. The number of deaths in his parish for thirty-three years succeeding his settlement, was 529. In 1790, died the Hon. Moses Nichols of this town. Ardently attached to the principles of liberty, he took a conspicuous part in the revolution. He commanded a regiment under General Stark, and was in the engagement of Bennington. Besides his military services, he was eminently useful as a physician in this place, where he practised many years. He held several offices of trust and responsibility, all of which it is believed he discharged with fidelity. In 1795, the publication of a newspaper was commenced in this town, by Mr. Nathaniel Coverly. The first number was issued January 15, and was called the Amherst Journal and New Hampshire Advertiser. This was the first newspaper published in the county of Hillsborough, and embraced a period of nearly one year. It was succeeded January 6, 1796, by the Village Messenger, which was successively edited by William Biglow, A. M. Messrs. Cushing and Preston. This publication continued till December, 1801, and was succeeded, in November, 1803 by the Farmer's Cabinet, which is now published. The Piscataqua Evangelical Magazine was published in this town in 1806, 1807, and 1808. These are all the periodical publications ever printed in this county.

The number of rateable polls this year, (1795) was 244, of which no more than 100 remain in town at this time. The rest have either died or removed from town. In 1798, died the Hon. Samuel Dana, Esq. of this town. From the oration at his interment, delivered by the Hon. Timothy Bigelow, the following sketch of his life and character, is extracted: "Our deceased friend, who has

filled many active employments and dignified offices in life, was born January 14, 1739, O. S. and was educated at the University of Cambridge, in a class which is remarkable for having produced many great men. He applied with diligence to his studies, acquitted himself with reputation in his collegiate exercises, and, in 1755, received the honours of the University with applause. June 3, 1761, he was ordained the minister of Groton, in Massachusetts. He discharged all the duties of that sacred character with a sincerity, a zeal and ability highly exemplary, and which not only secured the approbation and esteem of his brethren of the sacred order, but acquired him the respect and affection of the people of his charge. He probably might have continued in the pastoral office to the end of his life, but for some supposed political heresy, respecting our contest with Great Britain. This alienated the good will of his parishioners, and rendered a dissolution of his connexion indispensable. Accordingly, in 1775, he abdicated his charge. From this time, for some years, he was without any settled professional employment or steady pursuit. But his talents were too well calculated for usefulness in life to suffer him long to continue in obscurity. In 1783, he was admitted and sworn as a practising attorney in the courts of law. His eminence, his integrity, and his attachment to the interest of his employers are so fully known, as to render encomium superfluous. It is sufficient to say, that he continued in full practice till the time of his decease. In 1790, he was appointed by the supreme executive of this state to the office of judge of probate for the county of Hillsborough. In 1793, he was elected senator in the state legislature. In domestic life, he was no less distinguished for his virtues; serenity of mind, conjugal tenderness and parental affection, were eminent traits in his disposition."

In 1802, the town sustained a loss in the death of the Hon. William Gordon, who died on a visit, at Boston, in May, aged 39 years. At an early age he entered Harvard College, and received its honours in 1779. He engaged in a learned and arduous profession, in which his talents

and integrity soon procured him an ample portion of business and fame. He had been a senator in the state legislature, and a representative to Congress; and, at the time of his death, was attorney general of the State of New-Hampshire. His character is thus delineated:* "His mind was not less adorned with learning, than his heart with every manly virtue. His friendship was sincere: his benevolence active. Integrity, constancy, and truth, marked his character. An independence of spirit, a purity of morals, and correctness of thought, raised him above the prejudices of party, the meanness of avarice, the frowns and flatteries of the world."

In 1807, the Franklin Society, an association of literary gentlemen, moral in its constitution, liberal in its principles, and literary in its objects, was formed in this town, for the diffusion of literary knowledge. A president, vice-president, two censors, secretary and librarian were its officers. These were chosen quarterly. The regular meetings were on every second Wednesday. Discussion of literary subjects, declamation, original composition, constituted the exercises. The neighboring clergy, several of whom were honourary members, frequently attended, and gave animation to their performances by their presence.

From 200 to 300 valuable books constitute the library. The number of members, *in toto*, was about 60, of whom more than half were gentlemen of liberal education. At present the meetings are suspended.

The number of voters this year [1795 or 1807 ?] was 254; the number at present is 332.

JOHN FARMER.

*Amherst, N. H. 2 June*, 1814.

Rev. ABIEL HOLMES, D. D.

* Portsmouth Oracle, Vol. xii. No. 33.

*Abstract of the Weather, &c. at Amherst, N. H. for A. D.* 1811.

| Months. | No. of Days Fair. | No. of Days Cloudy. | No. of Days of Rain. | No. of Days of Snow. | No. of Days of Hail. | No. of Days of Thunder. | No. of Inches of Snow. | Thermometer. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | Greatest. | Least. |
| January | 17 | 14 | 4 | 8 | | | 20 | 57° | 4° below 0 |
| February | 12 | 16 | 4 | 11 | | | 41 | 51 | 13* below 0 |
| March | 25 | 6 | 5 | 2 | | 1 | 5 | 64 | 1 |
| April | 21 | 9 | 6 | 2 | | | 1 | 78 | 22 |
| May | 25 | 6 | 12 | | | | | 80 | 35 |
| June | 20 | 10 | 7 | | | 1 | | 95 | 60† |
| July | 23 | 8 | 12 | | | 2 | | 98 | 60 |
| August | 22 | 9 | 10 | | | 4 | | 96 | 60 |
| September | 24 | 6 | 7 | | | | | 89 | 44 |
| October | 19 | 12 | 13 | | 2 | | | 83 | 32 |
| November | 17 | 13 | 10 | 1 | | | 3 | 59 | 23 |
| December | 17 | 14 | 5 | 6 | 1 | | 15,75 | 53 | 4 below 0 |
| Total | 242 | 123 | 95 | 30 | 3 | 8 | 85,75 | | |

* Feb. 22, at 7, A. M. greatest degree of cold. † July 5th, greatest degree of heat.

Being destitute of a rain-gage I could not ascertain the quantity of rain which fell during the year. By the "No. of days fair"—is meant the days of prevailing fair weather, and so of the cloudy.

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LETTER FROM THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS IN CONNECTICUT, TO THE CLERGYMEN IN BOSTON.

*Rev. and Dear Sirs,*

WE, your brethren of the colony of Connecticut, met by delegation from the several counties, in general association at our annual meeting, cannot but feel deeply impressed with the present melancholy threatened situation of America in general, and the distressed state of the town of Boston in particular, suffering the severe resentment of the British parliament, by which the subsistence of thousands is taken away. We readily embrace this opportunity to manifest our hearty sympathy with you in your present distresses. We consider you as suffering in the common cause of America, in the cause of civil liberty; which, if taken away, we fear would involve the ruin of religious liberty also. Gladly would we contri-

bute every thing in our power for your encouragement and relief; however, our situation enables us to do little more, than to express our sincere and affectionate concern; and with fervent addresses, to commend your cause, and the cause of America; the cause of liberty, and, above all, the cause of religion, to the Father of mercies, who can easily afford effectual relief—who has the hearts of all at his disposal, and can turn them as he pleases. We feel deeply sensible, what a heavy load must lie upon the minds of the ministers of Boston; enough to sink their spirits, unless armed with vigorous christian fortitude and resolution. In hopes it may afford you some consolation, we assure you of our sincere condolence and unremitting prayers in your behalf; and that we shall, in every way suitable to our character and station, use our influence with the good people of this colony, to concur in every proper measure calculated to afford relief to America in general, and to the distressed town of Boston in particular. We pray that the ministers of Boston may be inspired by the great Head of the Church with wisdom sufficient for their direction, in such a critical day as the present; and that God would give them and their people, firmness, unanimity, patience, prudence, and every virtue, which they need to support them under their heavy trials, and enable them to stand firm in the glorious cause of liberty, and express such a temper, and exhibit such an example, as shall be well-pleasing to God, and recommend them to the favour and compassion of their fellow-men. We earnestly pray that God would humble us all under a deep sense of our numerous transgressions and criminal declensions; shew us the absolute necessity of repentance and reformation; humble us under his mighty hand; and pour out a spirit of fervent supplication on you, on us, and all his people in this land; and we cannot but hope the united prayers of America may obtain that audience in heaven, which will ensure salvation to us.

*Signed by order of the General Association.*

BENJAMIN THROOP, *Moderator.*

*Mansfield, 22 June,* 1774.

*To the Rev.* CHARLES CHAUNCY, D. D. *and the other ministers of the town of Boston.*

## COPY OF AN ANSWER TO A LETTER

*From the General Association in Connecticut to the Associated Pastors in Boston; prepared, but not sent through the confusion of the times.*

*Rev. and dear Brethren,*

YOUR very affectionate and obliging letter of 24 June, 1774, was communicated to us at a time when we greatly needed the encouragement and support of our Christian friends.

You justly suppose, that when Boston is treated with such unprecedented cruelty, and involved in the deepest distress, a heavy load must lie upon the ministers of religion in that unhappy town. We have consoled ourselves with the thought, that we were suffering in the common cause of America, in the cause of civil liberty, with which religious liberty hath a very close connexion. All circumstances seemed to make it evident that we were not mistaken in this view of things. It gives us the highest satisfaction to find, that the sentiments of others are conformable to our own; especially to know that this is the opinion of so wise and venerable a body, as the General Association of Connecticut.

We sincerely thank you for your tender sympathy with us under our sufferings, and the very kind and obliging manner in which you express it.

We present our particular acknowledgments for the great consolation you afford, in the assurance you give us of your sincere condolence and unremitting prayers in our behalf; and that you will, in every way suitable to your character and station, use your influence with the good people of your colony to concur in every proper measure calculated to afford relief to America in general, and to the distressed town of Boston in particular. We trust God hath heard your prayers, and the prayers of other friends to religion, and to America, and by his all powerful influence hath supported our brethren in this town, under their heavy trials, enabled them to stand firm in the glorious cause of liberty, and hath given them some degree of that firmness, unanimity, patience, and prudence

which you so fervently implore for them in this critical day.

We owe much to our brethren in the other colonies for the very generous assistance we have received. Such were the difficulties to which great numbers were reduced by the almost total stagnation of our trade, that it must have been impossible for this town to have subsisted to this day, if the inhabitants had not been favoured with such kind and generous relief from abroad.

The colony of Connecticut distinguished themselves not only by the largeness of their donations, but by the seasonableness of their supplies, which were received and applied for the purpose of supporting those, who were suffering by means of the cruel bill which shut up our port, while the other colonies, by reason of their distance, were not able to afford such immediate help.

We think ourselves obliged on this occasion to testify, that your charities have been most faithfully applied to the purpose for which they were sent. The gentlemen who have undertaken this trust, are of the first character for probity and universal goodness. They generously employ a very great part of their time in this benevolent work, without the prospect of any reward, but what ariseth from the pleasure of doing good, and the approbation of their great Master and Lord.

While we think we have a right to complain to heaven and earth of the cruel oppression we are under, we ascribe righteousness to God. We deserve every thing from him, and he punishes us less than our iniquities deserve. We earnestly entreat the continuance of your addresses to him, who heareth prayer, that he would humble, pardon, and bless us.

Our own distresses by no means employ all our attention. We are more deeply affected with the general danger of our country, than with our own difficulties. We encourage ourselves in that glorious Being, who hath ever been the hope of this Israel, and the Saviour thereof in time of trouble, and who hath so often and so wonderfully appeared for this people. We are sinful and degenerate, but we trust there are many who have not forsaken God, and for whose sake he will not forsake us.

If there had been ten righteous found in Sodom, the city had not been destroyed. And will not God have regard to the many thousands in this land, who walk uprightly before him, and who continually implore his favour, to their distressed country?

The surprising union of the colonies at this day affords the strongest ground of encouragement; and their spirited measures cannot, according to a human view of things, fail of success sooner or later. We are sensible at the same time, that all depends on him, who is the great Governour of the world. It is an inexhaustible source of comfort, that the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. To him we refer all, in full confidence, that he will do all things well.

We devoutly wish you the presence of the great Head of the Church in all your labours for the honour of God and the good of men, and are

With the sincerest gratitude, and respect,

Your brethren, &c.

*Dear Sir*,

According to your desire, I send you a copy of the letter which was prepared in answer to that which was so kindly sent from the Association in Connecticut. It was owing to the forgetfulness of our dear brother Howe, that it was not finished and forwarded. It was read by most of the brethren: but as it was not formally voted it may not be best to take notice of it as an answer to yours. You may use it as you think proper. I send it in compliance with your desire, and it will, at least, show that we were not wholly unmindful of the affectionate regard expressed to us, though we have not made the return we ought to have done.

I am, Sir, your brother and servant,

ANDREW ELIOT.

FROM PRESIDENT STILES' LITERARY DIARY.

"1773, 10 JUNE. JUDGE OLIVER came and drank tea with me. He has a copy of the Rev. Mr. Hubbard's MSS. of Ipswich, which he himself copied from a copy, which had corrections in Mr. Hubbard's own hand writing. I think it contains 300 or 400 pages, folio. This, with Gov. Bradford's and Gov. Winthrop's MSS. are the three most considerable historical accounts of the first settlement of New England."

"March, 1778. Reading a 4to. volume, entitled, The Gospel Covenant, or Covenant of Grace opened, by Rev. Peter Bulkeley, pastor of the church in Concord, in New England, and formerly fellow of St. John's College, in Cambridge. It was printed in a 2d edition in London, 1651, dedicated to the Right Hon. Oliver St. John, ambassador from the Commonwealth to Holland, dated April 15, 1651, and also to the church and congregation at Concord, in New England, with a preface by Rev. Thomas Shepard. Mr. Bulkeley was a masterly reasoner in theology. I consider him and President Chauncy, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Norton, and Mr. Davenport, as the greatest divines among the first ministers of New England, and equal to the first characters in theology in all Christendom and in all ages."

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LETTER FROM SIR EDMUND ANDROS TO GOV. DUDLEY.

*Copied from the original, found among the papers of the late* THOMAS FAYERWEATHER, *Esq. of Cambridge.*

KINGFISHER, *off Nantasket*, 19 *Dec.* 1686.

SIR,

BEING but just arrived, and afore I could send to you, as I was about to do, I have received yours pr. capt. George and Mr. Shrimpson, for which, and civilitys therein, I am obliged to you. I do not think it p'per (if I could) for to go on shore to day, but I intend it in

the morning,* and desire you to give notice to as many gentlemen of the councill as can conveniently come, to be with you then, or some time tomorrow, when I may acquaint you with his majesty's commands in sending me to this government, and I am, sir,

Your most affectionate, humble servant,

E. ANDROS.

*To the Hon.* JOSEPH DUDLEY, *Esq. President of his Majesty's Council, &c. at Boston.*

This is by capt. Nicolson, who hath the command of a compagny now b't. with me.

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## BILLS OF MORTALITY FOR MIDDLEBOROUGH. BY HON. ISAAC THOMPSON.

[IN vol. VIII. p. 79, first series, of these Collections, is a bill of mortality, by this same attentive correspondent, from 1779 to 1801. In vol. IX. p. 235, the bills for 1802 and 3, and in vol. X. p. 188, those for 1805 and 6 are inserted. The first of these should have preceded those last mentioned, but was then mislaid. That for 1811, has not been found by the present committee.]

REV. SIR, 1 JANUARY, 1805.

AGREEABLY to my former promise, I hereby inform you, that in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and four, there died in the first precinct in Middleborough

| *Persons.* | *Years of age.* | *Persons.* | *Years of age.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 over | 90 | 1 between | 40 and 50 |
| 3 between | 70 and 90 | and 7 under | 10 |
| | | Total 12 | |

Which numbers added, is as small, or the smallest number, that have died in that society, for upwards of thirty years past. I am, sir, yours, with respect,

ISAAC THOMPSON.

*Rev.* JOHN ELIOT, D. D. *Corr. Sec. Mass. Hist. Soc.*

* "He landed at Boston the 20th. and his commission was published the same day." HUTCHINSON.

REV. SIR, MAY 18th, 1808.

THERE died in the first precinct in Middleborough in 1807,

| *Persons.* | *Years of age.* | *Persons.* | *Years of age.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | upward of 80 | 2 | between 20 and 40 |
| 2 | between 70 and 80 | 4 | under 20 |
| 5 | between 60 and 70 | — | |
| 4 | between 40 and 60 | 22 | persons died in all. |

REV. SIR, 1 JUNE, 1809.

THE deaths in the first precinct in Middleborough in 1808 were

| *Persons.* | *Years of age.* | *Persons.* | *Years of age.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | between 80 and 90 | 4 | between 20 and 50 |
| 10 | between 70 and 80 | 8 | under 20 |
| 7 | between 50 and 70 | — | |
| | | Total 31 | |

REV. SIR, 7 SEPT. 1810.

THE deaths in the first precinct in Middleborough in 1809 were

| *Persons.* | *Years of age.* | *Persons.* | *Years of age.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | between 80 and 90 | 4 | between 20 and 50 |
| 4 | between 70 and 80 | 12 | under 20 |
| 7 | between 50 and 70 | — | |
| | | Total 29 | |

The average of their ages is about thirty five years.

REV. SIR, 2 FEB. 1811.

THE deaths in the first precinct in Middleborough in 1810 were

| *Persons.* | *Years of age.* | *Persons.* | *Years of age.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | between 80 and 90 | 5 | between 20 and 40 |
| 3 | between 70 and 80 | and 6 | under 20 |
| 3 | between 60 and 70 | — | |
| 1 | between 40 and 60 | 20 | Total. |

The number of deaths in the said precinct was the smallest that has been for a number of years. The average of their ages is a little over forty years.

Rev. Sir, 15 Jan. 1813.

THERE died in the first precinct in Middleborough the year past

| *Persons.* | *Years of age.* | *Persons.* | *Years of age.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | upwards of 90 | 5 | between 20 and 50 |
| 2 | between 80 and 90 | 7 | under 20 |
| 4 | between 70 and 80 | | |
| | Total 22 | | |

The average of their ages was about 47 years.

Sir, I subscribe myself yours in sincerity,

Isaac Thompson.

Rev. John Eliot, D. D.
*Corr. Sec. Hist. Soc.*

N. B. No person died between 50 and 70.

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LETTER FROM GOVERNOUR DUDLEY TO THE REVEREND COTTON MATHER, D. D.

*Roxbury*, 10 *July*, 1706.

*Sir*,

I WAS surprised a few days since with a present laid before me from Albany, by two honest Dutchmen, inhabitants of that city, which was a certain tooth, accompanied with some other pieces of bone, which being but fragments, without any points whereby they might be determined to what animals they did belong, I could make nothing of them; but the tooth was of the perfect form of the eye tooth of a man, with four prongs or roots, and six distinct faces or flats on the top, a little worn, and all perfectly smoothed with grinding. I suppose all the surgeons in town have seen it, and I am perfectly of opinion it was a human tooth. I measured it, and as it stood upright it was six inches high lacking $\frac{1}{8}$, and round thirteen inches lacking $\frac{1}{8}$. And its weight in the scale was two pounds and four ounces, Troy weight. One of the same growth, but not of equal weight was last year presented to my lord Cornbury, and one other of the same figure exactly was shewed at Hartford, of near a pound weight more than this.

Upon examination of the two Dutchmen they tell me the said tooth and bones were taken up under the bank of Hudson's river, some miles below the city of Albany, about fifty leagues from the sea, about —— foot below the surface of the earth, in a place where the freshet does every year rake and waste the bank, and that there is a plain discoloration of the ground, for seventy five foot long at least, different from the earth in colour and substance, which is judged by every body that see it, to be the ruins and dust of the body that bore those teeth and bones.

I am perfectly of opinion, that the tooth will agree only to a human body, for whom the flood only could prepare a funeral; and without doubt he waded as long as he could to keep his head above the clouds, but must at length be confounded with all other creatures, and the new sediment after the flood gave him the depth we now find.

I remember to have read somewhere a tradition of the Jewish rabbins, that the issues of those unequal matches between heaven and earth at the beginning were such whose heads reached the clouds, who are therefore called Nephelim, and their issue were Geborim, who shrunk away to the Raphaim, who were then found not to be invincible, but fell before less men, the sons of the east in several places besides Canaan.

I am not presently satisfied of what rank or classis this fellow was, but I am sure not of the last, for Goliah was not half so many feet, as this was ells long.

The distance from the sea takes away all pretension of its being a whale or animal of the sea, as well as the figure of the tooth, nor can it be any remains of an elephant, the shape of the tooth and admeasurement of the body in the ground will not allow that.

There is nothing left but to repair to those antique doctors for his origin, and to allow Dr. Burnet and Dr. Whiston to bury him at the deluge, and, if he were what he shows, he will be seen again at or after the conflagration, further to be examined.

I am Sir, your humble servant,

J. Dudley.

"COPY OF A LETTER ORDERED TO BE WRITTEN FROM THE GENERAL COURT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY, TO DR. JOHN OWEN, TO SECOND THE BOSTON INVITATION TO ACCEPT OF THEIR CALL.

*Reverend Sir,*

IT hath pleased the Most High GOD, possessor of Heaven and Earth, who giveth no account of his matters, to take unto himself that pious and eminent minister of the gospel, Mr. John Norton, late teacher of the church of Christ in Boston, whose praise is in all the churches; the suitable and happy repair of which breach is of great concernment, not only to that church, but to the whole country. Now, although most of us are strangers to you, yet having seen your labors, and heard of the grace and wisdom communicated unto you from the Father of lights, we thought meet to write these, to second the call and invitation of that church unto yourself, to come over and help us; assuring you that it will be very acceptable to this Court, and we hope to the whole country, if the Lord shall direct your way hither, and make your journey prosperous to us. We confess the condition of this wilderness doth present little that is attractive, as to outward things; neither are we unmindful that the undertaking is great, and trials many that accompany it; the persons that call you, unworthy and sinful men, of much infirmity, and may possibly fall short of your expectation (considering the long and liberal day of grace afforded to us;)—yet, as Abraham and Moses being called of God, by faith forsook their country and the pleasures thereof, and followed the Lord, the one not knowing whither he went, the other to suffer affliction with, and bear the manners of the people of God in the wilderness: and God was with them and honored them: so we desire that the Lord would clear your call, and give you his presence. You may please to consider those that give you this call are your brethren and companions in tribulation; and are in the wilderness for the faith and testimony of Jesus; and that we yet enjoy, through the distinguishing favor of God, the pleasant things of Zion in peace and liberty. And while the Lord shall see meet to betrust us with this mercy, we hope no due care will

be found wanting in the government here established, to encourage and cherish the churches of Christ, and the Lord's faithful laborers in his vineyard. Thus praying to the God of the spirits of all flesh to set a man over this congregation of the Lord, that may go in and out before them, and make your call clear, and voyage successful to us; that if the Lord should vouchsafe to us such a favour, you may come to us in the fullness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ; with our very kind love and respects,

We remain your very loving friends,

JOHN ENDICOT,

In the name and by appointment of the General Court, sitting at Boston, in New England. Dated the 20th of October, 1663."

[*Extracted from the Public Records, Book C. p. 74 and 75.*]

NOTE. In consequence of this pressing invitation, Dr. Owen was induced, in the year 1665, to prepare for a voyage to Boston; but was prevented from his design, first by the *plague* and *fire* of London which took place in the following year; and next by the King's declaration of indulgence to the Dissenters, which opened to him a prospect of greater usefulness by remaining in Great Britain. In an interview also with the King himself, by his majesty's special request, at which they discoursed together about two hours, he received such assurances of royal favour and respect, as led him lay aside all purposes of quitting the country. Besides his kind professions, "the King gave him a thousand guineas to distribute among those who had suffered most by the late severities."

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INDIAN NAMES OF WHITE HILLS AND PISCATAQUA RIVER.

*From a letter of Rev. Timothy Alden, S. H. S. to the Corresponding Secretary. Portsmouth,* 1806.

I HAVE lately been informed, that the *White Hills* were called by one of the eastern tribes, I cannot ascertain which, *Waumbekketmethna.* I have spelt it, as I

think all aboriginal names ought to be, as pronounced. *Waumbekket* signifies *white*, and *methna*, *mountains*, as I am told. The aboriginal name, in Belknap's History of New Hampshire, is widely different.

Piscataqua, so we spell, at this day, the aboriginal name of our river; but in our most ancient records it is written *Pascataquack*, sometimes with a double *t*. I presume that no method of spelling it, handed down to us, gives an accurate idea of the manner in which it was pronounced by the aborigines of this country. I suspect, from the small acquaintance I have had with the aboriginal mode of pronouncing, and from the circumstance that our forefathers spelt the word *Pascataquack*, that the last syllable had a strong aspirate. It was therefore probably pronounced Păscătăquăh.

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"*A particular of such necessaries as either private families or single persons shall have cause to provide to goe to Virginia, whereby greater numbers may in part conceive the better how to provide for themselves.*"

[Extracted from "The generall historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles, &c. from their first beginning 1584 to this present 1626. By Capt. John Smith." fol. Lond. 1632. pp. 248.]

Apparell for one man, and so after the rate for more.

| | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|
| A monmouth cap | 1 | 10 |
| 3 falling bands | 1 | 3 |
| 3 shirts | 7 | 6 |
| 1 waste coat | 2 | 2 |
| 1 suit of canvase | 7 | 6 |
| 1 suit of frize | 10 | |
| 1 suit of cloth | 15 | |
| 3 paire of Irish stockings | 4 | |
| 4 paire of shoes | 8 | 8 |
| 1 paire of garters | | 10 |
| 1 dozen of points | | 3 |
| 1 pair of canvas sheets | 8 | |
| 7 ells of canvas to make a bed and boulster to be filled in Virginia, serving for two men | 8 | |
| 5 ells of course canvas to make a bed at sea for two men | 5 | |
| 1 course rug at sea for two men | 6 | |
| | *l.* 4 | 0 0 |

Victuall for a whole yeare for a man, and so after the rate for more.

| | *l.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8 bushels of meale | 2 | | |
| 2 bushels of pease | | 6 | |
| 2 bushels of otemeale | | 9 | |

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 gallon of *aquavitæ* | 2 6 |
| 1 gallon of oyle | 3 6 |
| 2 gallons of vinegar | 2 |
| *l.* | 3 3 0 |

Armes for a man, but if halfe your men be armed it is well, so all have swords and peeces.

| | *s.* *d.* |
|---|---|
| 1 armor compleat, light | 17 |
| 1 long peece five foot and a halfe, neere musket bore | 1 2 |
| 1 sword | 5 |
| 1 belt | 1 |
| 1 bandilier | 1 6 |
| 20 pound of powder | 18 |
| 60 pound of shot, or lead, pistoll and goose shot | 5 |
| *l.* | 3 9 6 |

Tooles for a family of six persons, and so after the rate for more.

| | *s.* *d.* |
|---|---|
| 5 broad howes at 2*s.* a peece | 10 |
| 5 narrow howes at 16*d.* a peece | 6 8 |
| 2 broad axes at 3*s.* 8*d.* a peece | 7 4 |
| 5 felling axes at 18*d.* a peece | 7 6 |
| 2 steele handsawes at 16*d.* a peece | 2 8 |
| 2 handsawes at 5*s.* a peece | 10 |
| 1 whip saw, set and filed, with box, file, and wrest | 10 |
| 2 hammers at 12*d.* a peece | 2 |
| 3 shovels at 18*d.* a peece | 4 6 |
| 2 spades at 18*d.* a peece | 3 |
| 2 augers at 6*d.* a peece | 1 |
| 6 chissels at 6*d.* a peece | 3 |
| 2 percers stocked at 4*d.* a peece | 8 |
| 3 gimblets a 2*d.* a peece | 6 |
| 2 hatchets at 21*d.* a peece | 3 6 |
| 2 frowes to cleave pale, 18*d.* each | 3 |
| 2 handbills, 20*d.* a peece | 3 4 |
| 1 grindstone | 4 |
| nailes of all sorts to the value of | 2 0 0 |
| 2 pick axes | 3 |
| *l.* | 6 2 8 |

Household implements of a family of six persons, and so for more or less after the rate.

| | *s.* *d.* |
|---|---|
| 1 iron pot | 7 |
| 1 kettele | 6 |
| 1 large frying pan | 2 6 |
| 1 gridiron | 1 6 |
| 2 skellets | 5 |
| 1 spit | 2 |
| platters, dishes, spoones of wood | 4 |
| *l.* | 1 8 |

For sugar, spice, and fruit, and at sea for 6 men 12 6
So the full charge after this rate for each person will amount to about the summe of *l.* 1 10

The passage of each man is *l.* 6
The fraught of these provisions for a man will be about half a tun, which is *l.* 12 10 10
So the whole charge will amount to about *l.* 20

Now if the number be great, nets, hooks and lines, but* cheese, bacon, kine, and goats must be added. And this is the usuall proportion the Virginia Company doe bestow upon their tenents they send." p. 161—2.

[* Butter.]

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## AN ACCOUNT OF THE LOGANIAN LIBRARY IN PHILADELPHIA.

*In a letter from Ebenezer Hazard, Esq. to the Corresponding Secretary.*

THE Loganian Library was begun by JAMES LOGAN, who built an house for its reception, and vested it in trustees for the use of the publick forever. It consisted of more than 2000 volumes; and he devised certain rents to increase the number and pay a librarian. About 1300 volumes were afterwards devised to it by William Logan of Philadelphia, who acted as librarian, and died in 1776. The library remained unopened for several years after his death, until the legislature of Pennsylvania, at the request of James Logan, the only surviving trustee, passed an act for annexing the Loganian Library to that belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia, who made an addition to their building for the purpose of keeping the Loganian Library forever separate from their other books.

The act directs, that the Directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia for the time being, with James Logan, and such two other Trustees as he shall appoint, shall be Trustees of the Loganian Library, with power to make Rules and Bye-Laws: the books always to be kept separate from the other Library. The said James Logan dying, his nearest heir in the male line, or, in failure of male line, the eldest male heir in the female

line, to be a Trustee and have power to supply vacancies in case of the death, &c. of the Associate Trustees.

The Library is to be open every day (except Sunday) from 2 o'clock, P. M. till sunset.

The Librarian is to deliver books to such persons as shall come to the Library to read, and receive them again before shutting up the room. He must enter in a book the name of the reader of the book delivered to him, and cancel the entry when the book is returned. No person may take a book out of the room before he has signed a promissory note to return it undefaced; a folio in five weeks, a 4to. in three, and smaller sizes in two weeks; and has deposited double the value of the book with the Librarian until it is returned.

Persons residing out of the city of Philadelphia, who wish to take a book out, must obtain permission in writing from at least one Trustee.

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NOTICE RESPECTING THE AUTHOR OF "A BRIEF VIEW OF THE STATE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN NEW YORK, 1773." See Histor. Coll. vol. I. 2d series. p. 140.

*From a letter of Ebenezer Hazard, Esq. to the Corresponding Secretary. Phila. February,* 1808.

"ON my return home, I called upon Dr. Rodgers,* and asked him if he could tell me who wrote the *Brief View*, &c. He said he believed that he did; he recollected his having once written a pretty lengthy communication upon that subject. I apprehend that was it; for you may recollect my mentioning that the emendatory interlineations were in his handwriting. After my arrival at home, I turned to the Minutes of the Convention to which the communication was made, (yet in my possession, and now before me,) and found that Dr. R. was appointed to that service in 1771. In 1772 he reported Extracts from the Laws of New York, as other members did from the laws of other colonies; but as it was apprehended that the communications could be made more complete, if more time were allowed, this was granted, and the next year the Doctor, among others, delivered in a report, of which I suppose what you have to be a copy."

* Rev. John Rodgers, D. D. of New York.— Died 7 May, 1811. Ed.

## MEMOIR OF THE LATE REV. J. S. BUCKMINSTER.

NO man in our country was ever more beloved in life and lamented in death by a large circle of friends, than our late associate, Mr. Buckminster. The services of him who descends to the grave, full of years as of honours, must be remembered with gratitude; but a deeper and perhaps a more lasting sentiment is excited when such ardent anticipations are blasted, as all his acquaintance indulged of our young friend. In the bright morning of his virtues, his fame, and his usefulness,—" purpureus veluti cum flos, succisus aratro,"—his fall is more justly bewailed than that of those who perish in the usual course of nature after exhaling all their fragrance.

Joseph Stevens Buckminster, son of the Rev. Joseph Buckminster, D. D. of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was born 26th May, 1784, and died 9th June, 1812. In his earliest youth he discovered the marks of superiority. On account of weakness in his eyes, his father once denied him books, and his stolen converse with some old folios in the garret is the only act of disobedience recollected by his family. He was prepared for admission into the class of Freshmen at Cambridge, when only twelve years old; but his father entered him the next year in an advanced standing. In 1800 he was graduated with unusual honour. His oration, "On the literary characters of different nations," was equally distinguished for solidity of thought and splendour of imagination. The young Iulus promised, that his steps should not long be unequal to his sire's.

Mr. Buckminster, after leaving the College, was for some time an assistant at the Academy in Exeter, where his literary and theological inquiries were incited by free communication with Dr. Abbot, its distinguished principal. After a diligent and elaborate preparation for the duties of a christian minister, his first services in Boston were at the Church in Brattle-square, where he soon received an invitation to become the pastor. He was ordained, 30th January, 1805.

His faithful exertions were rewarded by the affectionate assiduity of the people of his charge, but subjected

him to frequent returns of a malady that threatened an early dissolution of their connexion. He was advised to cross the Atlantick, and in the spring of 1806 went to England. Having visited Holland, traversed Switzerland, resided five months in Paris, and made the tour of England, Scotland and Wales, he returned home in September, 1807. The disorder, under which he suffered, was mitigated in Europe, and some of his friends entertained hopes of his perfect deliverance from it; but, being seated in his frame, its violence recurred soon after the recommencement of the labours of his office. He dreaded the loss of his intellectual faculties, which is not unfrequently the consequence of epileptick attacks, but in this respect suffered only during their continuance. The last return terminated fatally, after a week's duration. It is observable that his father died the next day; neither being informed of the sickness of the other.

Mr. Buckminster's principal exertions, apart from those more imperiously required by his profession, were devoted to philology, especially as it facilitates the understanding of the sacred scriptures. Young as he was, it may be said without hesitation, that no man in America equalled him in this important department of science. To his example must, in no small degree, be ascribed the new zeal for such inquiries that is diffused through our neighbourhood. He set on foot the republishing Griesbach's edition of the Greek Testament, and superintended the execution, which has done honour to our country in the judgment of some foreigners of distinction. To prove the confidence that ought to be reposed in the talents and fidelity of the great German critic, several papers were published, at different times, by Mr. Buckminster. His own merit was acknowledged the year before his death by the appointment of lecturer on biblical criticism at the University, on the establishment just founded by the will of the late Honourable Mr. Dexter. His plan had been sketched, and its interruption was not the least cause for which the lovers of Harvard lamented his death.

He had contributed nothing to our Collections except useful hints; but he had been with us hardly a year, and

had numerous avocations to justify him. He was a member of many societies, scientifick, charitable, and religious, and his pastoral duties to one of the largest societies in Boston made large deductions from the leisure he would have given to subjects of curious investigation, or antiquarian researches.

The clergy of our country have usually felt, as good citizens, a deep interest in the affairs of its government, and have acquired considerable acquaintance with general and local politicks. Whether Mr. Buckminster thought himself too young, or was absorbed in pursuits of higher nature, or was restrained by more delicate considerations, he certainly bestowed little attention on such subjects. He had, indeed, a decided opinion about men, and listened to the discussion of measures; yet though he shewed plainly his preference among candidates, he seldom conversed or thought about the results of elections or wars. On the only occasion of much political celebrity when he prepared a sermon, he thought his performance should not be printed, and threw it into the fire to avoid the inquiries of his friends.

The only publications to which he gave his name were, "The right-hand of fellowship" at the ordination of the Rev. Charles Lowell, 1 January, 1806; a sermon on the death of Governour Sullivan, 1809; a sermon at the interment of the Rev. William Emerson, 1811; an address to the Society of *Φ. B. K.* at Harvard College. The latter was printed in the Monthly Anthology, and can therefore be hardly so extensively circulated among the rising generation as its worth requires. The subject was "The duties and dangers of men of letters;" and I know not how an ingenuous student can peruse it without some enlargement of mind and improvement in virtue. It certainly merits, together with the right-hand of fellowship at Mr. Lowell's ordination, which is affectionate, tender, and solemn, and possesses some fine expressions of his peculiar and sublime eloquence, to be appended to a second edition of the volume of Sermons, of which, since his decease, a large impression has been sold and distributed. This volume contains twenty-four dis-

courses, and the highest applause has been bestowed upon them by those who said that their expectations had been satisfied. They were selected by two of his brethren in the ministry, of whom one has enriched the volume with "A memoir of his life and character," with such happiness of execution, that, though I have borrowed from it the principal trait of his talents and virtues, it shall not be injured by the abridgment of an injudicious friend, who from his friendship had sufficient honour. I shall do no more than apply the language of Lælius: "Moveor enim tali amico orbatus, qualis, ut arbitror, nemo unquam erit; et, ut confirmare possum, nemo certe fuit."

Σ.

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CORRECTION OF AN ERROUR IN HUTCHINSON.

GOVERNOUR Hutchinson, Hist. Mass. I. p. 164. ed. 3. says, "It was thought necessary, for preventing fraud in money, to erect a mint for coining shillings, six-pences, and three-pences, with no other impression at first than N. E. on the one side, and XII. VI. or III. on the other; but in October, 1651, the Court ordered that all pieces of money should have a double ring with this inscription, MASSACHUSETTS, and a tree in the centre on one side, and NEW-ENGLAND and the year of our Lord on the other side."

In his note on this passage, he says, "the first money being struck in 1652, the same date was continued upon all that was struck for 30 years after; and although there are a great variety of dies, it cannot now be determined in what years the pieces were coined."

In the above are several mistakes. The first act of the General Court, which provided that the impression should be N. E. was passed in May, 1652. Two pieces, having on one side N. E. and on the other XII. each impression very full and distinct, are in the possession of William S. Shaw, Esq. among the collection of our late associate, Rev. Dr. John Eliot. They are not worthy of the name of money. It is probable that a very few of these coins were uttered, and that they continued but a very short

time in circulation; for at the October session of the same year, the mint was regulated, as Hutchinson above represents. The subsequent issues, usually called pine trees, are respectable coins.

Hutchinson takes no notice of the two-pences, which were not authorized to be coined, until ten years after. This fact, and the discovery of his mistake about the date of 1652 on all our money, I was led to the knowledge of, by seeing such a piece of our old money marked 1662, which is in perfect preservation. But the old editions of our laws, 1658, and 1672, contain the same statutes about money, and Hutchinson, perhaps, thought that none had been made in the interval. Where then did he imagine the authority existed for issuing two-penny pieces, or had he never heard of any? As the act has never, I believe, been printed, it may be thought worthy of insertion, for its existence is known to few.

"It is ordered by this Court, and the mint-master is hereby enjoined, out of the first bullion that comes to his hand, to coyne two-penny pieces of silver in proportion to the full value and alloy of other money here, to answer the occasions of the country for exchange, that is, the first year, fifty pounds, in such small money, for every hundred pounds by him to be coyned, and for aftertime twenty pounds in like small money, annually, for every hundred pounds that shall be coyned, and this order is to continue in force for seven years, any law to the contrary notwithstanding."

The variety of the dies is remarked by Hutchinson. It may interest some to be informed of part of them. *Inest sua gratia parvis.* Of the shillings, one side is impressed with a pine tree and the letters MASATHVSETS IN around it within the ring; the other side has NEW ENGLAND. AN. DOM. in the ring enclosing; Some shillings omit the final M. The six-pences have a similar stamp on each side, excepting the substitution of VI instead of XII in the centre, and omission of D. as well as M. The three-pences are like the last, except that the A. N. O. are omitted, and the change in the centre to represent their value. The two-pences have not a pine tree, but a sort of shrub, spread-

ing like a thistle. All of them, I presume, have the year* 1662. At least, of six that have come to my knowledge, two only are in this particular legible. They have the latter year, and may be seen in the collection of the Boston Athenæum. One three-penny piece in Mr. Shaw's collection has the shrub instead of the pine tree.

Σ.

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EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF THOMAS HOLLIS, ESQUIRE, TO REV. ANDREW ELIOT, D. D. AND FROM THE ANSWER.

*Explanation of plate xxx. New England.*†

SIXPENCE, No. 5, N. E. stamped on a piece of plate. *Reverse* VI.

Shilling, No. 10, MASATHVSETS IN Pourtraiture of the good Samaritan. Over it FAC SIMILE. No *Reverse.*

Peny, No. 14, . . SATHVS . . . A pine. *Reverse.* . . . . . GLA . . In the area 1652. Below the date, I.

If the sixpence, No. 5, and shilling, No, 10, and peny, No. 14, [and the half-peny, if stricken] can be procured for T. H. in fair, unrubbed, uncleaned condition, he will be glad of them at any price.

Pray forgive the liberty and trouble of this commission. *Palmal*, 18 *Dec.* 1767.

Sir, *Boston*, 18 *April*, 1767.

* * * * * * * *

I am extremely sorry that I am not able at present to gratify you with respect to the New England coin. * *

The portraiture of the good Samaritan no one among us ever heard of. I am persuaded it was not a current coin; but a medal struck on some particular occasion.

I have all the other New England coins. The small ones are scarce, but I have several very well preserved; and they are entirely at your service."

* It may be, the letters N. E. were in some of these pieces, instead of the date. The impression is not to be distinguished clearly; but sometimes it resembles the letters more than the figures.

† See "Tables of English silver and gold coins. First published by Martin Folkes, Esq. and now reprinted with plates and explanations by the Society of antiquaries." Printed, London, 1763, in 2 vol. quarto. p. 91.

T. H. had the honor to present a copy of the above work to the public library of Harvard College.

[THE following letter, intended for general circulation, among those whom it might interest and whose attention it might engage, is inserted, in the expectation that it may here address some friends to whom it has not been communicated, and thus subserve the interests of the Institution. To the members of the Society, it has, as it ought to have, a peculiar value, by its association with the loved memory of the late Corresponding Secretary, Rev. JOHN ELIOT, D. D. His attention to this, was the last of the multiplied and important services, for which we are indebted to this most excellent associate. EDIT.]

SIR,

The Society, which now respectfully addresses you, was instituted in the year 1791, with the design of collecting, preserving, and communicating whatever relates to the natural, literary, civil, and ecclesiastical history of our country. In 1794 they obtained an Act of Incorporation, and also obtained a deed of gift of a spacious and convenient apartment for their library and cabinet in Franklin Place, from the gentlemen who first improved that spot in the town for useful and elegant buildings.

The attention of the publick has been more than once invited to the objects of this institution; and letters have been addressed to those, whose taste and studies were presumed to lead them to favour its interests. Many acknowledgments are due to numbers who have contributed BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, MANUSCRIPTS, INDIAN ANTIQUITIES, FOSSILS, MINERALS, COINS, and other valuable articles, which adorn and enrich the Society's room. Still they are solicitous to enlarge their collections, for the benefit of themselves and posterity; and they take the liberty of asking your aid and influence in the furtherance of a plan, as arduous as it is important. The least favour will be acceptable, the smallest document, illustrative of our history, will be gratefully acknowledged, and carefully preserved.

The Society hope they have been instrumental of some valuable accessions to the means of information. A series of publications has been given to the community, comprising, in ten volumes, much original matter, and a great variety of curious and valuable papers, found amidst the dust of old libraries, and which otherwise

would have been lost. Many topographical accounts, biographical notices, journals of the American war, anecdotes of persons who were active in publick life, and several laboured disquisitions concerning the aboriginals, with other *manuscripts*, *records*, *letters*, and *registers of events*, have been diffused. These publications they propose to continue, as their literary materials and pecuniary means enable them to carry into effect the various objects of the Institution. It is one object of their care and attention to select rare and ancient tracts; to reprint such as will be useful to writers of history, or may gratify the taste of those, who love the things of former times, or venerate the memory of their forefathers. They desire also still more to enrich their library with modern histories, travels, &c. especially those which give a fair and impartial view of the United States.

The members of the Historical Society derive peculiar satisfaction from the belief, that their attempts to excite and promote a zeal for ascertaining the origin, and tracing the progress of the American plantations, and perpetuating in detail, principles and facts relative to the foundation of these republicks, have stimulated similar associations in other States, and have led to the formation of libraries on a more extensive, though not more liberal plan, in various parts of our own Commonwealth. While these several establishments for the advancement of historical and general information have our cordial wishes for their success, still we cannot but desire and strive to advance the prosperity and usefulness of our own. For this reason we solicit the continued attention and increased patronage of our friends and the publick. We request gentlemen to forward to us copies of their sermons, orations, or discourses on publick occasions; and all pamphlets of an historical, ecclesiastical, political, or statistical nature. By the liberality of publishers of newspapers, in our capital, we have a series of their several Gazettes for a number of years. Ancient papers of this kind, and those printed in other parts of the Commonwealth, and in other States, would be highly gratifying. All periodical works are greatly desired in such a repository as ours; and the editors of such are specially re-

quested to furnish them. Authors and publishers are also solicited to bestow a copy of their works on every subject. To collect the various productions of our countrymen in all branches of science and literature, has been one prominent part of our design. Many of our divines and statesmen would have adorned any country, and added lustre to any age, by their character and writings. We have been so fortunate as to collect a great proportion of the ancient authors of our country. For these we acknowledge ourselves much indebted to Mr. Ebeling professor of history in Hamburg, who wrote the Geography of the United States in the German language, and collected every thing which could be obtained concerning the European settlements; many of which documents he sent over to our library, with a complete collection of his own works. We are also indebted to several gentlemen in our vicinity for modern accounts contained in their valuable productions. We entreat to be remembered by clerical gentlemen in all the States, especially when their labours include historical and biographical sketches, and are exerted on publick occasions, as at elections, assizes, conventions, ordinations, funerals, fasts, thanksgivings, &c. &c.

The characters, habits, customs, languages, progress and decline of those who occupied these regions before us, form most curious and interesting subjects of contemplation. All authenticated accounts of these people, their numbers at different periods, their removals, their wars among themselves, or with the European settlers, are most eagerly sought by the historian, and the moralist. It has been, and continues to be a primary wish and effort of this Society, to collect and preserve particular information of a race of men so different in their complexion and character from other nations; and all records of the various attempts to civilize them, and bring them acquainted with the sublime truths of religion. Posterity will seize with avidity every narrative of a people, so original and so numerous, who have so rapidly disappeared, who have fled from civilized society and cultivated fields, and could no longer exist, than while permitted to roam at large through the forests. In the

Society's Collections they have published much valuable matter concerning the natives, and hope to be assisted in further prosecuting this favourite investigation.

Another main design of our Institution has been, and is, "the forming an extensive cabinet, comprising the various natural productions of our country, the adjacent isles, and neighbouring seas." It is not only pleasing and advantageous to students in chymistry and mineralogy, but may prove of immense publick benefit, to have specimens of clay, marl, lime, coals, metals, and all mineral substances deposited in publick collections. Here artists and manufacturers may examine and compare the specimens found among us with those of the old world, and thus be often led to explore those regions in which probably treasures abound of curious and valuable materials in the various arts. Those who may be pleased to contribute to this part of our Institution, are requested to accompany every article with a notice of the place where it is found, the nature of the soil, and all the peculiarities which distinguish its *locality*.

To these several particulars the Society beg leave to call the attention of their resident and corresponding members, and of all their fellow citizens, who are disposed to patronize diligent efforts to advance the knowledge of *American history*. If any think our past labours trivial, or hesitate to lend their aid to our future exertions, because they have only a trifle to bestow, as an apology for ourselves, and an encouragement to our friends, we quote from the imperishable lexicographer of our language, and the profound moralist of our race—"Although no terrestrial greatness is more than the aggregate of little things, yet drops added to drops constitute the ocean."

In the name and behalf of the Society.

*Corresponding Secretary.*

N. B. Articles for the library or museum should be sent by some careful hand to the Librarian or Cabinet-keeper, or either of the Secretaries. The Society's room is over the arched-way in the Crescent, Franklin Place, Boston.

PROSPECTUS OF THE REV. WILLIAM HUBBARD'S HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND. ABOUT TO BE PUBLISHED.

THE Historical Society consider it to be one important object of their Institution, to multiply copies of rare and valuable works relative to our Country. The History, to which they now invite the attention of their friends, was never published. Many of their associates and others have expressed a wish, that it might be given to the publick; as it is the original source from which several of our earliest historians derived much of their information.

The Society acknowledge, with gratitude to the memory of their most valued and respected associate, that this precious relick was among the rich contributions, furnished by Rev. Dr. John Eliot from his invaluable collection of the treasures of American history and antiquities. It is believed to have been rescued by his excellent father from the fury of the mob in their depredations on the house, furniture, and library of governour Hutchinson.

The General Court, 11 Oct. 1682, granted fifty pounds to the author, "as a manifestation of thankfulness" for this history, "he transcribing it fairly, that it may be the more easily perused." The copy, from which this first edition will be printed, was probably taken for the purpose of securing the benefits of this grant. On the application of the Society, the legislature in June last, voted to encourage the printing by subscribing for several hundred copies for the use of the Commonwealth.

Of the author, the late Rev. John Eliot, D.D. has given a very interesting, though not minute account, in The New England Biographical Dictionary. The same is also published in the first Series of the Historical Collections. [Vol. x. 32, 35—note.] He was born in 1621; —was one of the first class of graduates, at Harvard College, 1642; was settled in the ministry at Ipswich, a colleague of Rev. Thomas Cobbet, about 1666 or 1667; and died, 1704. Of his publications the following are all that are known; A Sermon, "among the very good ones,"* on the General Election, 1676, 4°; Narrative of

* Eliot.

Indian wars, 4°, 1677, republished 12°, Boston, 1775; Fast sermon, 24 June 1682; Sermon and Memoirs on Maj. Gen. Denison, published with Irenicon, 12°, 1684; Testimony (with Rev. John Higginson) to the order of the gospel in the churches, 1701.

Of this history, the following testimonials are among those that have readily occurred.

In John Dunton's Journal of his visit to New England, 1685, a very interesting notice is taken of the MINISTER OF IPSWICH. See "Extracts from the life, &c. of J. D." Hist. Col. vol. ii. 2d Ser. p. 121.

Rev. Thomas Prince, in "A Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals;" Vol. i. 12°. pp. 254, Boston, 1736.—Preface, p. vii.—has in his list of folio MSS.—"12. The Rev. Mr. William Hubbard's General History of New England from the Discovery to 1680, in 338 pages; And though not in his own hand-writing, yet having several corrections made thereby."—Again, p. 10, 11. "And whereas I observe some mistakes in Mr. Hubbard's History of New England; the reader may consider, that as we have only a copy of that VALUABLE WORK, the substance whereof I propose to give the Publick: some of these mistakes may be owing to the *Transcriber only*, and some that LEARNED and INGENIOUS AUTHOR fell into for want of Gov. Bradford's History and some other materials, which I happen to be favoured with." *

His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, in "The History of Massachusetts-Bay, &c. 8vo. 2 vols. Lond. 1765. Pref. to vol. i. says, "Many such [materials for an history of the Colony] came to me from my ancestors, who, for four successive generations had been principal actors in publick affairs: among the rest a manuscript history of Mr. William Hubbard, which is carried down to the year 1680, but after 1650 contains but few facts. The former part has *been of great use* to me: it was so to Dr. Mather in his history, of which Mr. Neal's is little more than an abridgment." The opinion of his biogra-

* Mr. Prince's *few* corrections—for he brought down his annals only to 1633—will be given in the notes, marked P. That the copy from which this edition is to be printed, is the same which he consulted, is little doubted. This is not in Mr. Hubbard's hand writing, yet has his emendations.

pher, our late excellent and never to be forgotten associate, than whom no one was better able to appreciate duly the relative as well as absolute merit of our early writers, is given in the prefatory remarks to his valuable ecclesiastical history. First series Hist. Collections, vol. vii. p. 263.

Of the MS. copy a few of the pages are mutilated, and the writing, in some portions that remain, is obliterated. These will be given, as far as the editors could spell them out. Where they shall supply words, or portions of words, conjecturally, such will be printed in *italicks*. Where they are at a loss, they will leave a blank. From the ninth page, the manuscript is entire; pages 7 and 8 are nearly so; 3, 4, 5, and 6, considerably torn and effaced; 1 and 2 appear to be wanting.

It is their hope to obtain an entire copy of this defective portion when the desirable event, of a free renewal of intercourse between Great Britain and this country, shall take place. The foundation of this fond expectation is derived from their knowledge that a transcript was made by Hon. Peter Oliver, Esq. LL. D. Chief Justice of Massachusetts.* They have applied to the family for a part or the whole of this precious document. If they obtain it, an impression of the first eight pages shall be furnished *gratis* to the purchasers of this volume.

*Cambridge*, 1*st August*, 1814.

*Conditions of Publication.*

The work shall be printed on paper of the same quality with this, and with the same type and size of page.

It is expected to make between 500 and 600 pages, and will be delivered in boards at the rate of fifty cents for every 100 pages.

But 200 copies will be printed above the number wanted by the Commonwealth and Society. To non-subscribers the price will be considerably advanced. Those therefore who wish for this valuable work, had best subscribe in season. Papers, for the purpose, will be lodged with the members of the Society, with the printers, Hilliard and Metcalf, Cambridge, with J. Eliot, No. 5, Court-street, and at several of the book-stores, Boston.

* See extracts from President Stiles' Literary Diary—1773, June 10. Hist. Coll. vol. II. 2d ser. p. 260.

"Every relick or document which related to the settlement of the country or was curious, had a value stamped upon it. He collected many papers and records, and even transcribed William Hubbard's MS. history with his own hand. All these, except such as Hutchinson made use of, were carried away with him when he went to England." Eliot's *N. E. Biog. Dict. p.* 350. *Art.* Oliver, P.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

THE attention of the publick is invited, and the patronage of the liberal is solicited to the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which, excluding political and theological controversy, are devoted to the civil, natural, and ecclesiastical history of America, particularly of New England. One important object is the multiplication of copies of rare and curious ancient documents, both in manuscript and print, for the use of the future historian and biographer. It is also a repository for topographical descriptions of the country, and biographical memoirs of our most distinguished worthies; and various similar articles, for the gratification of the antiquarian as well as of the general reader. The Society have on hand abundant materials, and if their pecuniary means were adequate, would publish a volume annually. It is not expected, nor particularly desired, to derive any profit from the work. Such a sale only is wanted, as shall, with the assessment on the members of the Society, indemnify them for the actual expenses of the publication. It is believed to be a work peculiarly adapted to the Social Libraries, which are now generally established among us; and those interested in them are respectfully desired to examine it, and see if it be not well worthy of a place in the libraries of the several towns in the commonwealth.

The first series, consisting of ten volumes, was commenced in 1792, and closed in 1809. It is enriched, among other valuable articles, with many from the pens of BELKNAP and ELIOT, the founders of the Society—names, which, while they are the pride of our country, must secure immortality to any literary work, with which they are connected. The latter was by far the largest *original* contributor to the former series. Of the deceased, of whom alone it is judged proper to speak, LINCOLN and SULLIVAN also furnished several valuable articles. The tenth volume contains a most minute and accurate index and chronological table. Two of the volumes are out of print; but the Society propose to reprint them, if a subscription can be obtained,

sufficient to defray the expense. The volumes contain from 290 to 300 pages, 8vo. and are sold at the very moderate price of $1 50 each, $15 the set, in bds. Any single volume may be had on application to James Savage, Esq. the librarian, or of the printer, No. 5, Court Street, where subscriptions are received, and eight volumes of the series will be delivered, with an obligation to furnish the two deficient volumes, when reprinted. As soon as fifty sets are subscribed for, the republication will commence, and the deficient volumes may be expected at intervals of two months.

1 *August*, 1814.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DONATIONS.

[The Historical Society have occasionally returned thanks to their patrons and friends, by their Corresponding Secretary, through the medium of the publick papers.* The Committee for publishing this volume, have judged it expedient to commence a more permanent record of benefactors. If their successors concur in the plan, the volumes will in future exhibit the evidences of publick attention, and of their gratitude for the favours they receive. The following comprises the donations for the period embraced by the former volume, as well as the present of this second series, i. e. 1813 and 1814. Edit.]

THE thanks of the Massachusetts Historical Society are presented for the following donations.

A. Holmes, *Corresponding Secretary.*

A large trunk of books and pamphlets, chiefly of ancient date, among which are many valuable tracts concerning the early History of New England.

*Francis Bayard Winthrop*, Esq. of New York, by his brother Thomas L. Winthrop, Esq. of Boston.

* The first expression of their gratitude, in this way, is believed to be in the American Apollo, 8vo. Vol. I. No. 19, 11 May, 1792. In this the contributions of the several members, to the library and cabinet, are not included. A continuation of these notices may be found in the same vol. No. 24, 15 June; No. 31, 3 August, and No. 34, 24 August. Those who may wish to trace the progress of our collection, are referred to the following papers; which however do not probably contain a complete series of these publick acknowledgments; but are all that readily occur. A more entire list may afterwards be prepared.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Columbian Centinel, | Vol. XXVIII. | No. 44, | | 3 February, 1798. |
| Massachusetts Mercury, | " XIII. | " 23, | | 9 March, 1799. |
| " " | " XV. | " 26, | | 1 April, 1800. |
| New England Palladium, M. Mercury, cont. | " XIX. | " 16, | | 23 February, 1802. |

Tyng's Mass. Reports from vol. II. to vol. IX. Acts passed at the 3d session of the 11th Congress of the U. S. Laws and Resolves of the General Court of Massachusetts; Jenkins' Art of Writing; Ancient Charters and Laws; Collection of Documents, Reports, Bills, Rules; Repository of Massachusetts Agricultural Society.

*By Resolve of General Court.**

Census of the U. States, 1810. *Hon. James Lloyd.*

Picture of Philadelphia, by J. Mease, M. D.

*The Author.*

Sermons on particular occasions, 8vo. Boston, 1812.

*Rev. Dr. Freeman.*

Institution and proceedings of the Society of the Cincinnati of U. S. and Mass. 8vo. *Mass. Soc. Cincinnati.*

Addresses from Common Council to the King on his accession to the Throne. *Hon. Thomas H. Perkins.*

Collections of the New York Historical Society, for 1809, vol. 1st. *The Society.*

Religious Tracts, No. 1, 2, 3, published in Boston by a Society for promoting christian knowledge, piety, and charity. *The Society.*

Bill of Mortality for the town of Boston, for 1812.

*Board of Health.*

History of North Carolina, by Hugh Williamson, M. D. LL. D. 2 vols. 8vo. *The Author.*

N. Boone's Military Discipline, published in 1705.

*A. Cunningham, Esq.*

Episcopal Journals and Sermons, 2 vols. 8vo. unbound; The Churchman's Magazine, 8 vols. unbound,

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Boston Weekly Magazine, | Vol. | I. | No. | 29 | 14 May, 1803. |
| —— Gazette, | " | XVI. | " | 37 | 5 July, 1804. |
| Repertory, | " | II. | " | 59 | 23 —— 1805. |
| Portsmouth Oracle, | " | XVIII. | " | 7 | 15 November, 1806. |
| Repertory, | " | V. | " | 15 | 19 February, 1808. |
| New England Palladium, | " | XXXIV. | " | 15 | 22 August, 1809. |
| Repertory, | " | VII. | " | 78 | 28 September, 1810. |

It is presumed, that these articles were inserted in other papers, near to the above specified times.

* Commonwealth of Massachusetts. 8 June, 1809. "Ordered, that the Secretary of the Commonwealth, or the Clerks of the Senate and House of Representatives, be respectively authorized and directed to furnish the President of the Historical Society with two copies of any publication, the property of the Commonwealth, which they may now have, or which may be made hereafter by each branch of the legislature; provided a sufficient number be reserved in all cases for the use of the government."

from 1804 to 1811; Bowden (John, D. D.) Essentials of Ordination; Defence of the Essentials of Ordination. *Bishop Hobart.*

Tracts published in the Controversy in Episcopal Church, New York, 1811, 12. *Bishop Hobart and Rev. Cave Jones.*

Earl of Buchan's Address to the Americans in Edinburgh, on Washington's birth day, February 22, 1811. *The Author.*

Palmer (Rev. Stephen) Sermon, delivered in Needham, Nov. 16, 1811, on the termination of a century from its incorporation; on dedication of a meeting house in Dover; on death of Rev. Mr. Sears, Caryl, and Chickering, 1812; at the funeral of Rev. Thomas Thacher, 1812. *The Author.*

Preston (William) Epistle to Robert Anderson. *Robert Anderson, M. D.*

Stanford's Speech, January 6, 1812, on bill to raise an additional military force; Speech of Hon. William Gaston, Feb. 1814, in House of Rep. U. S. Ryan (Edw. D. D.) Letter to George Enson, Esq. Dublin, 1811; sundry congressional documents. *Hon. Jos. Quincy.*

The Satirist. *The Editor.*

Constitution of Grand Lodge, Mass.; Channing (Rev. William E.) Fast Sermon, July 23, 1812; Allyn (Rev. John) Election Sermon, 1813; Report of Executive Committee of Bible Society, 1812; Address of President and Fellows of Harvard College to Legislature, 1812; sundry documents Mass. Legislature; Seeger (C. L.; M. D.) Oration, 4 July, 1810, Northampton; Smith N. Ruggles, do. 4 July, 1808, Roxbury; False Alarm (by Dr. S. Johnson;) Lathrop (John D. D.) Sermon on Epidemic in Boston, 1809; Austin's Sermon before Mass. Missionary Soc. 1803; Tudor (Wm. jun.) Oration in July, 1809; Beecher (Lyman) Sermon; History E. Hampton, L. I. 1805; Osgood (David, D. D.) Sermon in hearing of University of Cambridge, 1810; Foxcroft (Thos.) Observations on primitive state of New England, 1730; Mass. Charter (Charles) 1689; Trial—Thomas Barnes vs. inhabitants of 1st Parish in Falmouth. J. M. *A Friend.*

Kendal (Rev. Dr.) Century Sermon, at Weston, Jan. 12, 1813. *The Author.*

Williams (Avery) Century Sermon at Lexington, March 31, 1813. *The Author.*

Holmes' Sermon at Dudleian Lecture, 1810; do. at Inauguration of Rev. E. Porter, Prof. Sac. Rhet. Andov. 1812; do. before Society for Foreign Missions, 1813; Address before the Washington Benevolent Society at Cambridge, 1813. *The Author.*

Pearson (Rev. Eliph. LL. D.) Sermon before Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, 1811; Dana (Rev. Dr.) do. do. 1812; Prentiss (Rev. Dr.) do. do. 1813. *The Society.*

Sumner, (Rev. Joseph) Sermon at Shrewsbury, 50 years after his settlement in the ministry, 1812. *The Author.*

Spalding, (L.; M. D.) Portsmouth, N. H. bill of mortality for 1811. *The Author.*

Address to citizens of Plymouth County, relating to County Treasurer, &c. *Hon. William Spooner.*

Report of the proceedings of the Ninth General Synod of the Ass. Reformed Church of N. America, 1812; Extracts from Minutes of Gen. Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in U. S. 1812; Report of the Watering Committee upon the state of the works for supplying the city (Philad.) with water, &c. 1812; Rules of the Philadelphia Dispensary, for the medical relief of the poor, &c.; Annual report for 1812; Plan of the city of Philadelphia. *Ebenezer Hazard, Esq.*

Sullivan (J. L.) on Middlesex Canal, 1813; Mass. Medical Society, Address of Counsellors to Fellows, 1813; Quincy (Hon. Josiah) Speech in House of Representatives, U. S. on a bill to raise an additional military force; Colman (Henry) Discourse before Humane Society, 1812; Address of Members of House of Representatives U. S. on the war with Great Britain, 1812; Whitney (Peter) Sermon at interment of Hon. Richard Cranch, 1811; Letter to republican member of House of Representatives of Mass. on College of Physicians, 1812; Kendall (James) Sermon before Society for propagating Gospel, 1812; Catechism for children of New

South and Federal street Societies; Tracts published by the Society for the religious improvement of Seamen, No. 1 to 6; Report of the Executive Committee of the Mass. Bible Society, 1813 and 1814; Woodward (James W.) Sermon at the funeral of Rev. Eden Burroughs, D. D. Hartford, Vermont, 24 May, 1813; Parker (Isaac) Sketch of the character of Chief Justice Parsons, 1813.

*Mr. John Eliot.*

General Repository and Review, Nos. 7 and 8.

*Mr. Wm. Hilliard.*

Message of President of the U. States, 1 June.

*Hon. James Lloyd.*

Constitution, &c. of the Middlesex Bible Society, 1814; a plea for Friendship and Patriotism, in two discourses at First Church, Boston, 1814; Sketch of the character of Hon. Robert Treat Paine, LL. D. from a sermon at First Church, 1814; Sacred Extracts from the Scriptures, for the use of schools, 12mo. 1814.

*From a Friend. J. M.*

Memoirs of Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, D. D. By David McClure, D. D. and Elijah Parish, D. D. 8vo. 1811; Lee (Chauncy) Election Sermon Connecticut, 1813.

*Rev. Dr. McClure.*

Eddy (Thomas) Account of the State Prison in New York, 8vo. 1801. *The Author.*

Account of the New York Hospital, 8vo. 1811.

*Thomas Eddy, Esq.*

Eulogy on Hon. James Bowdoin. By Rev. William Jenks. 4to. 1812. *The Author.*

Chickering (Joseph) Discourse to the Congregational Society in Woburn—ded. of meeting house, 1809.

*The Author.*

Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy shaken, 4 vols. 12mo. 1768; Bishop of Landaff's Sermon before Society for propagating Gospel, and Society's proceedings, 1767; Calamy (Edmund,) Account of Ejected Ministers, 2 vols. 8vo. 1727; 13 vols. 8vo. Sermons; General Repository and Review, 6 first nos.—purchased at the sale of the late Dr. Eliot's Library; (amount $23,40.)

*A few Members of the Historical Society.*

Bailey (Kiah) Sermon before Maine Missionary So-

ciety, 1812; Appleton (Jesse D. D.) Discourse before the Society for discountenancing and suppressing publick vices, 1813. *Rev. Wm. Jenks.*

Welsteed (Wm.) Election Sermon, 1751.

*Miss Prout.*

Gleason (B.) Oration at Charlestown, 1813; do. Oration delivered, 1812, at Montreal (Masonic.) *The Author.*

Kingdom of Christ, a Sermon by E. D. Griffin, 1805; Sermon of do. on death of Dr. Macwhorter, 1807; Catalogue of the Library of N. York Historical Society; Constitution and Bye Laws of that Society, 5 copies; Historical Sketch of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, N. York; J. L. Wilson, Sermon, War the work of the Lord, and the coward cursed; Hieronymus (Rev. C. Jones) Serious Thoughts on Episcopal orders; Kentucky Revival, by Richard McNamur; Burke (Wm.) Methodist Episcopal Church; Ordinances of College of Physicians and Surgeons, N. York; Collection of American Epitaphs; N. Jersey Register, 1811, 12; Catalogue of Pupils; Wilson (Josiah L.) Episcopal Methodism, or Dagonism Exhibited; Browne (J. W.) on dying experience of his Father; Browne's Western Calendar, and Cincinnati Almanack, for 1806, 9—13; Citizen and Farmer's Almanack, 1812; Return of deaths in the city of N. York for 1804—8. *Rev. Timothy Alden, jun.*

Massachusetts Medical Society, Transactions of. 2 vols. 8vo. *The Society.*

Volume of old Tracts unbound, 4to. *Rev. Dr. Harris.*

American Medical and Philosophical Register, by a Society of Gentlemen in N. York, 3 vols. 8vo.; Hortus Elginensis; Hosack's (David, M. D.) statement of facts relative to Elgin Botanic Garden; Anderson (Andrew) Inaugural Dissertation on the Eupatorium Perfoliatum of Linnæus. *Doctor Hosack.*

Bogart (Henry) Inaugural Dissertation on Angina Pectoris. *The Author.*

Francis (John W.) Inaugural Dissertation on Mercury; Anderson's Inaugural Dissertation. *Doctor Francis.*

An ancient plan of New Haven. *Rev. Dr. Dwight.*

A bundle of pamphlets, chiefly Election Sermons, from the collection of the late Judge Fuller. *Mrs. Hull.*

Abbot (Abiel) Sermon on Plymouth anniversary, 1812. *The Author.*

Morse (Jed. D. D.) Sermon before the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America, 1810; Kendall (James) do. do. 1811; Bates (Joshua) do. do. 1813. *The Society.*

Coffin (John G.) M. D. Address before the contributors to the Boston Dispensary, 1813. *The Author.*

Declaration of Independence, draughted by Thos. Jefferson, reported to Congress, June 28, 1776, M. S. *Hon. Timo. Pickering.*

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Sundry MSS. viz. Esau and Jacob's Mystical Harmony, &c. 1666, a fair MS. 4to. 106 pp. with a memo. in Dr. Stiles' hand writing, "I suppose Roger Williams';" Letters and Papers relating to the family of Col. Church, 1772; Acts and orders of General Assembly at Newport, 26 Feb. 1689, 90, folio sheet; Lord's Commissioners Queries, relating to Colony of Connecticut, and Answers, 1762; List of Meetings and Ministers of Dissenters in London, 1766; Letters from St. John Crevecœur to Dr. Stiles, 1785; Memo. about Orphan House, Georgia, 1769; Hebrew Inscription on a mountain in Kent (now Washington) Connecticut, 1789; Sermon of Rev. Mr. Wheelright, 1636 or 7; Letter from Committee of Congress to Dr. Stiles, 1775; do. from Dr. Stiles to Thos. Jefferson about fossil bones, 1784; do. from A. Browne, Trin. Coll. Dublin, to Dr. Stiles, 1793. *Caleb Gannet, Esq.*

The MS. of the Version of the Psalms, beautifully written in a neat 8vo. vol. 276 pages, with original recommendations, by S. Mather, M. Byles, and Samuel Cooper, 1751; "The Preacher," minutes of texts, places, &c. of preaching during a ministry of 68 years—(2 February 1702—January 1770) in a neat 8vo. vol.—Both by Rev. John Barnard of Marblehead. Presented by his successour, *Rev. Samuel Dana.*

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ders ; being the same for substance, which was propounded to, and agreed upon by the Church of Salem, at their beginning, the sixth of the sixth month, 1629 ; Copy of a MS. Essay of Mr. Higginson, on qualifications for admission into a church ; Original letter from Rev. Charles Morton, and several other ministers, on " the reformation of those evils, which have brought the many and heavy judgments of God upon the people," dated " Charlestown, 13 day, 8 month, 1690 ;" and an anonymous MS. on the same subject ; Table of Chances and Probabilities in human life ; and Analysis of a bill of Mortality.

*Isaac Mansfield, Esq.*

MS. Discourses from Psalms cxxx, 4th, 5th, and 6th verses, supposed to be the Rev. Jonathan Mitchel's of Cambridge ; and a MS. Sermon of Rev. John Chandler, of Billerica, 1749. *Mr. John Farmer.*

Extract from a MS. of John Rogers of Ipswich, relating to the dismission of Rev. Jabez Fitch from the church in Ipswich. *Rev. Timothy Alden, jun.*

Besides the above MSS. the several original articles in this and the preceding volume, are gratefully acknowledged.

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The Repertory & Gen. Advertiser. *W. W. Clapp.*
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